Daily Report

East Europe

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Daily Report
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FBIS-EEU-95-171 *5 September 1995*

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Bosnian, Croatian, FRY Ministers To Meet 8 Sep

AU0209171395 Paris AFP in English 1702 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Sept 2 (AFP)—The foreign ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and federal Yugoslavia will meet Friday [8 September] in Geneva, French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette said here Saturday.

The date of the meeting had not previously been confirmed.

EU Monitors in Bosnia Treated Well by Serbs

LD0509124795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1151 GMT 5 Sep 95

[By Ljiljana Prosic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Madrid, Sept. 5 (TANJUG)—Spain on Sunday night welcomed with high emotions the three European Union monitors, led by Ambassador Fernando Sanchez Rau, trace of whom had been lost at a time when NATO bombed Bosnian Serb positions.

Sanchez Rau, diplomat and mediator said upon his arrival that the E.U. mission had been treated very well and correctly by the Bosnian Serbs, as expected on similar occasions.

The fate of the monitors, whom Spain had without convincing reasons proclaimed dead not by NATO bombs but allegedly at the revenging hands of the bombing victims, the Serbs, is further proof of cruel Western media propaganda fitted into the black-and-white stereotypes.

Spain believes that the monitors had been killed, Spanish daily EL PAIS wrote last Wednesday, adding that the government doubted the Serb version that the E.U. monitors had been killed in NATO air strikes.

Javier Solana, E.U. chairman and Spanish foreign minister, has told a press conference he is practically certain the E.U. monitors had been killed by Bosnian Serbs.

Spanish daily DIARIO 16 has recently condemned the CNN cliche under which the blame is invariably and solely put on the Serb side, as well as the bombing of Serb side.

Whoever had committed the crime against the civilians at the Sarajevo market—which required only two soldiers to sneak into the enemy ranks—sought to undermine the U.S. peace plan which is a corrected version of the Contact Group plan, DIARIO 16 said.

This demonstration of force, taking after the Gulf war, the paper described as diplomacy of sadism serving the U.S. media and Washington's daily policy.

Terrorism in Sarajevo, DIARIO 16 said, must not be allowed to determine the strategy of the international community in the Balkan crisis.

Washington and Brussels should defend their authority by honestly endorsing the peace plan for resolving the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and by not succumbing to provocations, the paper said.

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Berisha on Nano Case, U.S. Visit

AU0109181095 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by Erion Brace on news conference by President Sali Berisha in Tirana on 31 August: "No Change in Berisha's Attitudes"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Berisha Scared To Talk About Nano

Asked yesterday whether the Nano case is included on the agenda of talks with President Clinton, President Berisha said, "The free press of the opposition has the right to shape and express its opinions and viewpoints without the slightest restriction, as it did before our admission to the Council of Europe. It can continue in the same way: This is its right. However, I want to say something else. In 1991, I was invited to a 'hearing' of the U.S. Senate, and at this hearing, one of the main topics, or the main topic, was 'the Shkoder massacre.'" What does this mean? Berisha was apparently talking in code, with reference to Nano. Has this, one wonders, become since yesterday the new language of battle against the imprisoned Socialist leader who is considered innocent by Europe's most prestigious organizations? Asked about the release of Fatos Nano, Berisha said that his intention at the moment was to deal with some other issues. He said nothing about whether a reply has been sent to Amnesty International's letter of 30 July, demanding the immediate and unconditional release of Fatos Nano, deemed a prisoner of conscience. Amazingly, but not accidentally, Berisha did not answer this question.

Clinton Will Welcome the Albanian President, but Berisha Continues To Talk Like the Democratic Party Chairman

Referring to his forthcoming meeting with President Clinton, Berisha said that this will come after other important meetings with Vice President Al Gore; Bob Dole, leader of the Senate majority; Secretary of State Christopher; Secretary of Defense William Perry, etc. It is evident that the Albanian president's visit to the United States is very important for Albania and the Albanians. Today, however, only 10 days before the visit, Berisha spoke again like the chairman of the Democratic Party [PD], as he has done throughout the last three years. Mr. Berisha seems to behave like this on purpose, with the goal of channeling the importance of this reception at the White House into support for the PD in the run up to the elections. Clinton's invitation to the president of Albania is, first of all, a hand extended to all Albanians, not just to the PD chairman and his fans.

Politicians Criticized About Serb Refugee Issue

95P21016A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 23 Aug 95 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Albanian Politicians Don't Know the Problem of Kosova!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are many sides of the coin in respect to the problem of Kosova. One is the Kosova-Serb relationship which is so complex that even international factors, apparently, do not want to become involved in it. So it is easier for them to accept a "status quo" without bothering their heads about other solutions which, they believe, could cause other situations similar to those in Bosnia and Croatia.

But, there is another side of the coin: the relationship of Albanians (from Albania) with Kosova. The statements of some politicians from Albania who are "more Catholic than the Pope" in their principles—(we think that they are without principles)—in regard to the resettling of Serbian refugees from Croatia in Kosova are proof of this. In contrast to the great anxiety which prevails among Albanians in Kosova, this resettling does not cause any anxiety for the leader of the Democratic Alliance, Neritan Ceka, who is not even opposed to the placing of the Serbian refugees in Albania! The former leader of the Democratic Party (who is in the government) said something similar. If his colleagues (Ali Spahia...) can be believed, he [the former leader] said that he "did not know the problem of settling Serbian refugees in Kosova."

Such attitudes, even if they are sincere or claim to be based on principles, are not reponsible attitudes in light of the importance of the issues related to Kosova. Lack of knowledge of the problem or the idea that Serbian refugees should be placed in Albania, (a very original idea), are things which have nothing in common with the national interests.

Government Charges Brozi in Constitutional Court

AU0309103695 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 2 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by Emin Barci: "Government Prosecutes Brozi"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Charges laid by the government against Zef Brozi, chairman of the Court of Cassation, were sent to the Constitutional Court yesterday. In this suit, the government asks that verdicts of the chairman of the Court of Cassation be declared unconstitutional,

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overturning final decisions of the primary and appeals courts. Following its inspections of courts in Tirana and Durres, the Justice Ministry claims that there have been many irregularities to be laid entirely at the door of the chairman of the Court of Cassation. At a cabinet meeting a few days ago. Justice Minister Frasheri described Brozi's activities as serious violations of human rights. According to him, Brozi ordered the court order enforcement offices to overturn final verdicts issued by primary and secondary courts. Meanwhile, Brozi and independent lawyers say that the Supreme Court is acting within the law and performing its duty. Democratic Alliance leader Neritan Ceka has called Brozi's presence as chairman of the supreme court a stroke of luck for Albanian justice, accusing the other courts of being hotbeds of corruption that conceal crimes and malpractices.

The conflict between Brozi and the state began as a conflict between Berisha and Brozi. The reason was the Court of Cassation's verdict announcing the innocence of KOHA JONE chief editor Aleksander Frangaj and his deputy Martin Leka. It was Berisha who had pardoned the two journalists only a few days before, which led to the termination of proceedings against Frangaj and the release of Leka from prison. However, on 31 May 1994, it was Brozi who presided over the court that declared the journalists innocent, thus discounting Berisha's gesture. The second conflict between Brozi and Berisha was over a statement by Brozi over the constitutional referendum. At a time when Berisha was parading up and down Albania calling for pledges even from the Socialists, Brozi said that, "I cannot believe pledges given at rallies," thus forecasting Berisha's defeat in the referendum. Revenge on Brozi for his prophecy against Berisha should have provided an excuse for his dismissal. The Court of Cassation proceedings of the Greek citizen Kalafatos, who was charged with trading in hashish, marked the start of a political struggle against Brozi. It was the procurator general who last December asked the parliament to remove Brozi's immunity to pave the way for his prosecution. However, the parliament remained of two minds over whether it has the right to remove the immunity of the chairman of the Court of Cassation and called for the assistance of the Constitutional Court. The latter decided that parliament could remove the immunity of Brozi, as in the case of all other appointees. The ballot over Brozi was held in January this year and a majority of deputies decided that Brozi should remain chairman of the supreme Albanian court. In June and July, the imprisoned Socialist leader began a two-pronged court campaign aimed at the declaration of his innocence and his release. It was clear that it would be the Court of Cassation that would put the final seal on any decision to be made. Under such circumstances, it seems that Brozi must, without fail, be eliminated from his position. Following various failures, after labeling him a charlatan and accusing him of being under the orders of the former Sigurimi, the state seems to be using the Constitutional Court as its last resort. It is still not certain whether a verdict of the Constitutional Court will unseat Brozi or send his case back to the parliament for another vote.

Import-Export Imbalance Part of 'Economic Crisis'

AU3108134095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on August 20 carries on page 6 a 700-word report by Dede Kola on the export-import imbalance. Kola says that "the grave situation in the Albanian economy, despite some sporadic fluctuations and positive reflections of the official press, is reflected in the export-import relationship." According to the latest official figures, he says, "During the second quarter of this year, exports reached the sum of $46 million and imports $176 million," in which "the private sector accounts for 54 percent of exports and 81 percent of imports."

Commenting on these figures, he says: "From the aforementioned figures it turns out that the ratio between export and import is about one to four to the detriment of export—i.e., of our foreign currency. This imbalance could not be hidden by the government."

He goes on: "During 1993 and 1994, the value of imported goods was $602 and $601 million respectively, almost with no change. During the same years, exports reached a peak of $141 million, which shows that the difference between exports and imports is very big. The trade deficit amounted to $450 million. The situation has not changed, and no improvement is expected this year."

Commenting on the causes of this situation, Kola says: "This is a very dangerous economic and political symptom that is the result of the current economic crisis. The export crisis is also the result of the lack of a strategy that must be followed in several sectors of the economy." He says: "It is a pity that while exports do not exceed $141 million, the income entering the country from the emigrants is about $266 million." He goes on, "It is a pity that in the first quarter of this year, the goods on top of the export list were salt and lumber. This points to the fact that industrial production has the lowest percentage of the national revenues."

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Commentary Questions Logic of NATO Air Strikes

AU0409185395 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 31 Aug 95 p 6

[Commentary by Plamen Kulinski: "Deficiency of Logic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] By launching its latest operation, NATO justified its historical existence. According to the NATO secretary general, the bombings are aimed at peace—the peace that during the three years of the Bosnian conflict continually disappears as soon as it emerges, as is the case now.

These strikes are described as logical. From the formal viewpoint, this is indeed true because they were provoked by an act that could not remain unpunished. This was the carnage in the vicinity of Markale—the same Sarajevo market that 18 months ago was the scene of an even greater slaughter. During the year and a half that has elapsed since then, it has not been established who fired on that occasion. On this latest occasion, however, the experts were quicker off the mark and promptly decided: The Serbs are the guilty parties!

This may be so. However, if we look for some kind of logic, which is, of course, not compulsory in the case of Bosnia, the declaration that the Serbs are responsible for the tragedy at Markale does not seem to tie up in any way with the fact that Pale has accepted the peace plan. Why was it necessary to shed innocent blood when everyone knows that this will not be allowed to pass without consequences and that it will inevitably delay the implementation of the U.S. initiative? However, the Serbs have decided to approve the U.S. plan, in contrast to the Muslims, who have now found a motive to demand that the plan be put in cold storage.

At present, the people in Sarajevo are leaping with joy: The Serbs have got what they deserved.... NATO is also pleased with a job well done.... As for peace, it can wait—until the next air strike.

Article Views Case for Neutrality in Europe

AU0509101695 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 31 Aug 95 pp 1, 4

[Article by Petranka Fileva, candidate of Economic Sciences: "A Neutral Assessment of a 'Neutral Bulgaria'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the summer holidays, the debate about a "neutral Bulgaria" has died down somewhat, and the present attempt to join in this debate is prompted by the feeling that we need a neutral assessment of the prospects for such a foreign policy alternative. First launched timidly and indecisively as a topic taken from parliament's inner political life, the idea is tending to impose an information blackout on the politicians' real intentions.

The evaluation of the prospects for neutrality in Europe, and for a permanently neutral Bulgaria in particular, demands one to take a look at the fate of the permanently neutral European countries, namely Switzerland, Sweden, Austria, and Finland. With the exception of Switzerland, these countries are now members of the EU and, in the view of their partners, are considered to have something to contribute to European security both by virtue of their traditional foreign policies and by serving as models for successful domestic political development.

In principle, there is no contradiction between a status of permanent neutrality and membership of the EU, because the Maastricht Treaty talks about cooperation between the 12 sovereign states in the fields of foreign policy and security policy. The treaty also mentions the possibility of withdrawing from forms of cooperation if any member country so wishes. The problem arises from the interwoven and mutually complementary functions of the EU, the Western European Union, and NATO, and from the thesis that a European security structure based on different speeds is not viable.

For the time being, it appears that neutrality will be preserved as a status that does not come into sharp contradiction with the basic obligations during the period in which the new European security structures are being developed—outside NATO—into a security system that is different from NATO, which served as a military instrument for achieving political goals. This is especially valid for Switzerland and Austria, for which neutrality is a factor for preserving their national identity. They let it be known that they will utilize their neutral image as long as they can, including in the arms trade, which they describe as "a neutral alternative to the arms importers." They even strongly emphasize their role in history of acting as a counterweight between East and West.

At the same time, attempts are now beginning to be made in Europe to find new models for a balance of forces and to look for new buffers between the still unstable security structures. The question logically arises: Will new neutral states be born? These usually appear following great wars but, more importantly, they appear with the aim of consolidating the established balance of forces in international relations and helping to resolve the disputes between the great powers. In this connection, it is interesting to recall that in legal literature neutrality is identified with the term "neutralization," that is, the isolation of a geographical

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territory or state entity from the disputes between the great powers, in the interest of peace between them.

Today Russia is the country that is calling for a balance to be achieved, as it opposes the expansion of NATO. Thanks to the conflict in former Yugoslavia, Russia has returned to the arena of competition between the great powers earlier than its own positions of strength would have otherwise permitted, and this fact makes it questionable whether a state of confrontation from a position of strength actually exists that requires a counterweight. Apart from this, if the question arises today of "neutralization" or "isolation" of a state entity or a geographical territory, this would not apply to the Balkans, because in the Balkans the chips are merely being laid out on the gambling table, while the real game of the balance of forces is being played in Central and Eastern Europe.

If we take a closer look at the arguments "for" and "against" a neutral Bulgaria, we will find a few more counterpoints. One strong argument in favor is that neutrality promises a break with the vassalage that has been typical for Bulgaria over the last century and presupposes an independent foreign policy. The problem is that the long-term economic prosperity of a state in modern conditions requires it to integrate into the leading structures of economic and technological progress, which presumes giving up a considerable measure of sovereignty. Any alternative to Bulgaria joining the European economic, and hence political and military, structures dooms us to isolation today, while tomorrow we will be left to seek allies among the poor in the North-South conflict.

The second important argument "for" is that neutrality guarantees stability and continuity in foreign policy, and this seems especially important against the background of the changing winds in Bulgarian foreign policy. The problem is that the idea of a neutral Bulgaria is accepted by a limited number of parties and by a comparatively small percentage of our present members of parliament.

In our deliberate search for arguments in favor, we might also add that a unilateral declaration of neutrality as an active foreign policy line to preserve the international norms is a way out for Bulgaria, enclosed as it is within the unstable borders of the Balkans. Such a neutrality might be guaranteed by Russia, the United States, and Western Europe because they are, let us say, interested in pacifying the region. However, this is not the case with the United States, Russia, and Western Europe, and we can only regret this fact. Both joining NATO and establishing a permanently neutral status will make us come a cropper in our geographical situation, far removed from the direct geostrategic priorities of the chief actors in modern Europe. It is therefore no wonder that eminent Western Europeans object to our stories about neutrality. They would hardly have reacted in the same way if the neutrality question concerned Poland, the Czech Republic, or Hungary. Neutrality has always been an international issue, an issue much wider than the guarantees of the security of a state situated in a danger region, even if it lies on the periphery of Europe.

Pirinski Briefs Ambassadors on Ioannina Meeting

AU0209085395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 1 September, Foreign Minister Pirinski met the ambassadors and charges d'affaires of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Greece and briefed them on the most important topics that were discussed at the Ioannina meeting of the foreign ministers of Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece and the text of the joint declaration that has been adopted.

Georgi Pirinski reiterated the positive Bulgarian assessment of the meeting's results, and stressed that two associated members of the EU, Bulgaria and Romania, and a full-fledged member, Greece, took part in the meeting. Mr. Pirinski also said that Bulgaria is willing to emphasize the common positions of the associated EU members in their efforts to join the EU, as it actually did at the Ioannina meeting.

Spanish Prime Minister Arrives for Official Visit

AU0409193495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Felipe Gonzales, prime minister of the Kingdom of Spain, arrived in Bulgaria today on an official visit. At Sofia Airport he was welcomed by Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, who expressed his pleasure at the visit by his Spanish counterpart. At the moment, Spain is chairing two organizations that Bulgaria aspires to join—namely, the European Union and the Western European Union, Prime Minister Videnov said. He voiced his confidence that the visit will be extremely successful and beneficial.

For his part, Felipe Gonzales also said how glad he was to make the visit, which is taking place after being postponed twice. I hope, Mr. Gonzales said, that this visit will stimulate both the bilateral relations between Bulgaria and Spain, and Bulgaria's relations with the European Union.

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Discusses Balkans With Videnov

AU0509103095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The second meeting between Prime Minister Zhan Videnov and Felipe Gonzalez just ended at the Boyana residence. Three groups of issues have been discussed: bilateral relations, European integration, and the situation in the Balkans.

The two sides have unanimously concluded that ways of easing the Yugoslav-embargo must be sought, parallel to developing the peace process, and that there is no alternative to peacefully resolving the conflict, a spokesman for the government pointed out.

Comments on EU-Bulgarian Relations

LD0509093395 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 0600 GMT 5 Sep 95

[Passages withing quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez is in Bulgaria. Relations between the EU, of which Spain currently holds the presidency, and Bulgaria, which is an EU associate member, will be at the center of talks to be held this morning by Gonzalez and his Bulgarian counterpart. Maria Jesus Chao, our special correspondent to Bulgaria, reports:

[Chao] On the second and final day of his stay in Bulgaria, Prime Minister Gonzalez will meet Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev, following a second meeting with Prime Minister Zhan Videnov. He will reiterate Spain's interest, while it holds the EU Presidency, of taking up the challenge of expanding the EU to include the Central and East European countries, as Gonzalez outlined last night during an official dinner.

[Gonzalez] "If for many years Europe was [word indistinct] and disunited, the time has come to recover—quoting Milan Kundera—this kidnapped Europe, and to build a more united, prosperous, and solidary Europe, which we all want."

[Chao] This is a great challenge, full of opportunities for all countries in Europe, which has led Spain, during its presidency, to concentrate on actions which will facilitate a rapid and harmonious integration of the associate member countries to the EU. In this context, Gonzalez drew attention to what he described as the cancer at the heart of Europe—referring to the situation in the former Yugoslavia.

[Gonzalez] "Spain has eagerly supported European and international efforts to restore peace, and coincides with Bulgaria in its desire to achieve a just and negotiated peace."

[Chao] Regarding bilateral relations, the prime minister hopes that his visit will serve to analyze the current state of these relations, and to boost their development, which in recent years have increased, but not at the economic and trade level. With the agreement on mutual protection and promotion of investment to be signed today, Gonzalez hopes that bilateral relations will now reach the point desired by both sides.

Prime Minister Gonzalez resumed his political activity following the summer break with a busy foreign schedule. This evening he leaves for Russia, for a two-day visit, and next week he will embark on a tour of several Middle East countries.

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Havel Discusses NATO Air Strikes in Bosnia

LD0309145695 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 3 Sep 95

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Haval by Robert Tamchyna in Prague on 3 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Tamchyna] The situation in Yugoslavia has escalated again. Do you believe that the decision by the international community to go on the offensive could help achieve a final solution to the conflict?

[Havel] Over the years, I continued to express my views on that conflict. From the very beginning, I kept saying that, unfortunately, there are situations in which evil has to be fought by force. Some people even viewed me as a warmonger.

I am glad that after all those years the international community has at last made up its mind and has taken some more vigorous steps, using force. Had this happened several years ago, thousands of lives could have been saved.

In my view, this conflict is sometimes interpreted—rather erroneously—as a conflict between nations and, in particular, between the Serbs on one side and the Croats and Muslims on the other. Some people tend to interpret NATO air strikes as an attack against the Serbs. It is not an attack against the Serb nation or against the Serb population. It is an attack against fanatics, against wild, illegitimate armies that are not regular armies of any internationally recognized state and that would bear the responsibility of defending the integrity of the territory. These are wild armies controlled by ethnic fanatics and are responsible for an infinite number of horrors. They liquidate the past of Bosnia-Herzegovina; they are doing away with the very tradition of civil coexistence. [passage omitted]

What happened in Srebrenica and elsewhere is a conflict between an inhuman ethnic fanaticism and the principle of civil coexistence of people of different nationalities, ethnic origins, religions. I think that this attack is a warning. [passage omitted]

I would like to believe that this attack is what President Izetbegovic has called it—not the beginning of a large-scale war but, on the contrary, the beginning of a peace solution to the whole situation. Simply, we have to identify the culprit and, if words have no impact, we have to use force.

[Tamchyna] Bosnia-Herzegovina is the most important international topic. The 1968 treason charges brought by the Office for the Documentation and Investigation of the Crimes of Communism could be said to be the most important domestic issue. From the beginning, the activities of this office are being viewed with some embarrassment with regard to either the form of the treason charges or the names of some traitors. What is your view on the developments so far?

[Havel] People should not betray their homeland, and traitors should be sentenced. This fact is important for our future as well as for the health and viability of our national community. We have to know about this. We have to settle accounts with the past, and I am glad that attempts are being made to do so. I am not going to comment on how these attempts are made or on what are the legal prospects for these attempts. I do not know that. However, I consider the very intention to do so legitimate and most appropriate. [passage omitted]

Preparations for Oct NATO Exercise Reported

AU0109172595 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 31 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by "jc": "NATO Exercise in Vyskov Will Cost Almost 21 Million Korunas"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vyskov—NATO's "Cooperative Challenge '95" [preceding words published in English] exercise, which will take place in Vyskov in early October within the Partnership for Peace project, will cost almost 21 million korunas [Kc]. Of this, some Kc6.5 million will come from the Defense Ministry budget, and roughly the same sum will be paid by NATO and the United States. The rest will be financed by the armies of the countries that will participate in the exercise.

The exercise will be the most important military undertaking in the country since 1989. The Czech Army wants to use the exercise to test the possibilities of linking its communications systems to the systems of NATO armies. The command of battalions by an international brigade staff, made up of representatives of all 14 participating armies, will be practiced. Some 600 officers will participate in the exercise.

Some Czech Army officers believe, however, that the exercise will cost needlessly much. First Lieutenant Petr Gavlik, deputy chief of the Vyskov garrison, said, for example, that dormitory rooms in which participants in the exercise will stay are being provided with color television sets and new radio receivers and that urinals are being equipped with photoelectric cells. "Changes to the garrison barracks alone will cost Kc250,000. This seems to me absurd in a situation when the army lacks, for example, gas or diesel fuel to train drivers," Gavlik added.

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Lubomir Odehnal, rector of the Vyskov Military Academy, said that the school received all of its new equipment from the Defense Ministry temporarily. "We are going to return everything after the exercise," he said. The new telephone network is the only thing they will keep.

OSCE High Commissioner Views Minority Issues

AU0109152095 Prague REFLEX in Czech 25 Aug 95 No 36 pp 10-11

["Exclusive" interview with Max van der Stoel, OSCE high commissioner for ethnic minorities, by Dana Braunova in The Hague; date not given: "Extremists Play Into Extremists' Hands"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Max van der Stoel (71), graduate of the prestigious Leyden University Law School, international secretary of the Dutch Labor Party of many years, member of parliament, Netherlands representative at the United Nations, and foreign minister for six years (during an official visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1977, he met with Charter 77 representatives, thereby causing a diplomatic rift with the then government and ending his visit prematurely). He presides over the Carnegie Foundation board and the Council of The Hague Academy for International Law. Since 1 January 1993, he has held the post of high commissioner of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] for ethnic minorities.

His task is to follow and, at the very outset, deal with ethnic conflicts in Europe that could expand into warfare. If he reached the conclusion that there is an immediate danger of such a conflict, he would issue an "early warning," by means of which he would officially point out the conflict to the OSCE.

[Braunova] Are you satisfied in your present post?

[Van der Stoel] It is a very demanding post, both time-consuming and physically taxing. It can even be depressing when one encounters expressions of extreme nationalism. However, because my main task is to prevent conflicts, it is fascinating and, I believe, important work.

[Braunova] Why, would you say, there are so many ethnic conflicts in today's world? Is it because one writes more about them, or are there more of them than at other times?

[Van der Stoel] I will focus on Europe alone. Under the communist regimes, it was not possible to come up with some ethnic demands; they would have been immediately refused or suppressed by harsh means. Hence, one could say that, during the communist era, a lid was kept on the ethnic problems. After the fall of communism, they bubbled up to the surface much faster because they had been neglected for so long.

[Braunova] Is there a formula that could help an outsider to help prevent the worst?

[Van der Stoel] To be useful at all, he must see a willingness to seek solutions and make compromises. If he resolves that there is at least a minimum of goodwill on both sides, he must determine precisely what the two sides want, where they are willing to yield, and what they would never accept. Having collected all of this information, he can propose a compromise acceptable to both sides. Sometimes it happens, however, that the parties are so obstinate that they only repeat their original demands, reproaches, and wrongs and are incapable of listening to the other side. In such a situation, the negotiating outsider has the advantage of being able to talk with anyone about anything, and, in a calm, objective manner, explain the arguments of the antagonistic parties, which are often incapable of reasonable communication between themselves.

[Braunova] Politicians frequently lie. Has it ever happened to you, for instance, that the representatives of one side promised something, but nothing changed and the conflict continued?

[Van der Stoel] Of course, it is a long way in politics from words to deeds. I have no illusions in this respect. On the other hand, after what happened in Bosnia and Chechnya, the representatives of states and ethnic minorities have become aware of how far ethnic conflicts may go and that, when violence breaks out, everyone suffers. If they do not feel such responsibility, I consider it my duty to remind them how it could end if a peaceful solution is not found—what a catastrophe it would be for both sides.

[Braunova] While in this office have you ever contemplated issuing the "early warning"?

[Van der Stoel] Yes, but I will not tell you in what context. Of course, in such instances, I must consider whether such a step does not even dramatize the situation further, whether it would not give the impression that the matters really are at the razor's edge. I have other options, however, than the issuing of an official early warning. I can, for instance, appeal to friendly states to become involved in resolving the conflict and attempt to mollify the tension on both sides. An early warning is the last resort at my disposal. So far, I have not considered it necessary to issue one.

[Braunova] You have been following the situation in Central and East Europe for many years. How would you assess the development there?

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[Van der Stoel] The situation differs from country to country. It is difficult to pass a global judgment. One of the problems on my mind is, for instance, the fastest possible ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty.

[Braunova] How do you perceive the situation in the Czech Republic? Is the status of the Czech Romanies among the problems with which you deal in your position?

[Van der Stoel] Over the past year, I held unofficial talks on this topic with the Czech representatives, and I am following further developments closely. In principle, it is a question of whether the projects prepared by the state administration will actually be implemented.

[Braunova] Have you noticed the occurrence of violent manifestations of racism in our country?

[Van der Stoel] What happened is, to a great degree, reminiscent of the position of Romanies in other European countries. Reprehensible acts of violence against them have been also occurring there. As early as 1993, I pointed out to the OSCE the grave situation of the Romanies in Europe and proposed the organization of a Pan-European seminar on Romany problems. This resulted in numerous recommendations, and the point in question now is how to implement them.

[Braunova] Do the looming or already erupted ethnic conflicts in Europe have some common features?

[Van der Stoel] They all have one thing in common: They did not need to erupt. If there is strong will on all sides, it is always possible to find a peaceful and constructive solution. Unfortunately, governments often do not pay enough attention to minorities and their rights, and, on the other hand, there are often extremists in the minorities, who, by their statements, play into the hands of the extremists from the majority camp and vice versa. Hence, the extremists willy-nilly support each other. I am firmly convinced, however, that no ethnic problem exists that could not be settled in a peaceful manner. Nevertheless, it requires several basic conditions. The governments must realize that if they are fair to minorities, they can expect the minorities to remain loyal to them. On the other hand, the minority must realize that solving its specific problems, its identity, does not necessarily lead to the creation of another state. There are many ways of achieving this without weakening the structure of the existing state or changing its borders.

[Braunova] Do you believe that the conflict in Yugoslavia will have a peaceful solution?

[Van der Stoel] At present, the situation does not look good. Many chances have been missed in the past. I am particularly distraught that no more steps were taken at the very beginning, before the conflict flared up to its full intensity in 1991. The world community intervened only after the first shots were fired. My experience tells me that, if armed conflict is to be prevented, it is necessary to intervene at the initial stage of a dispute. The longer one waits, the more prestige and emotions are at stake on both sides, and everything becomes much more complex. I am not claiming that, if the Yugoslav problem had been dealt with earlier, perhaps at the end of the 1980's, the endeavors would automatically have been crowned with success. I am only saying that no one tried. We should learn a lesson from this.

[Braunova] Next to Yugoslavia, where the conflict has already flared into full blaze, what do you consider to be the most burning ethnic problem in Europe?

[Van der Stoel] They are all dangerous. The main ones concern the 35 million Russians who live outside Russia, Hungarians living outside Hungary, Albanians living outside Albania, and Greeks living outside Greece. All of these are areas to which I pay great attention.

[Braunova] Would you agree that there would be more peace in Europe if there were only ethnic states? Would it not save all of us a lot of worries?

[Van der Stoel] Perhaps, but that is no longer possible. Let us say that the five wisest men were granted the supernatural power to redraw borders in Europe. Whatever they would do in their wisdom, they could never draw borders that would prevent the existence of minorities. That applies particularly to Central and East Europe, where the ethnic groups are greatly mixed. Ethnic minorities are and will remain a part of Europe, and no one can do a thing about it.

[Braunova] What do you consider to be your greatest success in the post of high commissioner, and what was your greatest failure?

[Van der Stoel] I would consider it the greatest success if no conflicts were occurring at the end of my term in office. I could then say that I contributed to the reinforcement of a decent and civilized Europe. When I look back at the two and a half years of my work in this post, I believe that I contributed to the alleviation of tension surrounding the Russian minority in the Baltic region and the Greeks in Albania. Furthermore, I hope that my recent endeavors helped ease the tension between the autonomous Crimean Republic and the government in Kiev. There are also disappointments—disappointment that governments do not follow my recommendations as I had hoped. I do not give up easily, however, and go on hoping that even what was once rejected may be accepted eventually.

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Secrecy Act Negotiations With U.S. Army Approved

AU0109172695 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 31 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by "bar": "Military Information Will Be Better Protected"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—In the future, classified Army information should be better protected. Namely, the cabinet approved yesterday negotiations between the Governments of the Czech Republic and the United States of an agreement on the protection of classified military information. Minister Igor Nemec stated that Washington conditioned future cooperation between the Armies of the two states on this agreement. According to him, the agreement will also facilitate access for the domestic enterprises to state-of-the-art technical equipment of the U.S. Army.

Klaus: 'Antistrike Scenario' Not Seen by Ministers

AU0509085995 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Sep 95 p 2

[CTK report: "V. Klaus Has Talked With the Union Leader"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—At a reception held at the Slovak Embassy in Prague last evening, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus met unofficially with the chairman of the Bohemian-Moravian Chamber of Trades Unions, Richard Falbr, and discussed the Antistrike Scenario with him. In an interview for NOVA Television, the prime minister said that he had tried to explain that the trade unionists were mistaken in their view of the significance of the material they received unofficially from the Transportation Ministry. The prime minister said that no government member has ever seen this material. "I think he (R. Falbr) believed this," added the prime minister. R. Falbr decided to wait until V. Klaus returned from Austria, despite the fact that the three deputy prime ministers had distanced themselves from the document. Today, the trade union leader should discuss the Antistrike Scenario with Transportation Minister Jan Strasky.

CSSD Head on Forming Coalition With KDU-CSL

AU0509085795 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 1 Sep 95 p 1

[Article by Martin Manak and Miroslav Korecky: "Zeman Believes in a Coalition With Lux"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the event of his party's success in the next parliamentary elections, Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] Chairman Milos Zeman intends to form an Austrian-style governing coalition along with Lux's Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL]. He made this statement on 30 August at a meeting with journalists.

Zeman has not even completely ruled out the possibility of asking the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] to join such a coalition. Of course, he has made this conditional upon the internal party victory of "one of the two wings campaigning against each other within ODA." He expressed some doubt, however, about ODA's ability to exceed the 5-percent clause in the elections.

"If our party is successful, I will always offer the KDU-CSL and, conceivably, Kalvoda's Alliance one government seat more than Vaclav Klaus will be willing to offer," declared the social democratic leader, who, in the event of the formation of a governing coalition made up of the CSSD and theKDU-CSL, is relying on the tacit support of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia. "I do not reckon that the communists will vote with the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]," commented Zeman.

According to Zeman, the KDU-CSL is today behaving more like an opposition party than a member of the governing coalition. He also praised the KDU-CSL's orientation toward a so-called social market economy. Apparently, there are many points of contact between the two parties, which, according to Zeman, has been manifested, for example, in the two parties' joint parliamentary vote against the so-called draft pension law submitted by Minister J. Vodicka (ODS). The CSSD chairman has several times already emphatically rejected the possibility of a postelection coalition between his party and the ODS.

According to our information, the Civic Democratic Party is also interested in postelection cooperation with the KDU-CSL. KDU-CSL Chairman Josef Lux confirmed yesterday that he has met repeatedly in recent weeks with ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus. The aim of the meetings was, apparently, to discuss topical political issues: "I consider such discussions to be natural. It was unnatural that this did not happen in the past. It is also necessary to meet face-to-face, without news conferences outside of coalition meetings. We do this with the other coalition members, and I am pleased that, after three years, we are also able to do so with the ODS chairman." Lux refused to comment on the subject of the talks, but he did say that the aim was not to reach a clear agreement on postelection cooperation. "The postelection composition of the governing coalition is an issue that no politician will discuss in advance. We will conduct the elections not within the coalition but as an independent sovereign party," stated Lux.

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An information source close to the KDU-CSL leadership told us yesterday that Josef Lux and Vaclav Klaus met most recently on 29 August. The talks concerned the relationship between the church and the state, but also, allegedly, alluded to the situation following the parliamentary elections. "In three years, Vaclav Klaus has never been so accommodating toward our party," said LIDOVE NOVINY's source literally. At the meeting with Lux, the ODS chairman was also apparently interested in the contacts between the KDU-CSL and Zeman's CSSD.

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Interpol Confirms President's Son Under Arrest

LD0109170095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The International Criminal Police Organization, Interpol, has confirmed to our police that the Austrian police arrested the son of the Slovak president, Michal Kovac Jr., in Vienna today and transferred him to a prison in Vienna.

Michal Kovac was kidnapped yesterday near Bratislava and was found by the Austrian police on the back seat of a Mercedes in front of the police station in Hainburg. When interrogated, Michal Kovac said that he had been badly treated by the kidnappers and was even given electric shocks.

Austrian doctors said Michal Kovac had sustained minor injuries. Mariana Orelcova, a secretary at our embassy in Vienna, told the Slovak News Agency TASR that Ambassador Josef Klimko and Consul Peter Ivcik were taking the necessary steps with regard to Michal Kovac Jr.

President Requests Son's Return

LD0209172395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Michal Kovac held a brief meeting with Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk today, during which the minister briefed the president on Foreign Ministry activity concerning the forceful and illegal abduction of the president's son, Michal Kovac Jr., to Austria, and his subsequent detention by Austrian justice authorities.

The president handed Juraj Schenk an official request asking the ministry to act not only in matters of consular help, but also, in a diplomatic note, to ask the Austrian side to return his son to Slovakia. The president stressed that his son did not violate Austrian laws, nor did the international warrant name him as an accused person.

Act of Banditry Condemned

LD0309190995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 3 Sep 95

[Statement by Slovak President Michal Kovac given in Bratislava today on the abduction of his son; followed by a brief news conference with unidentified correspondents—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kovac] Esteemed citizens. The kidnapping of my son and his illegal abduction abroad has shaken not only our family but, as we have learned, many other citizens as well. Violent acts such as this one are certainly not conducive to a good social atmosphere, and many people rightly see in this a possibility that citizens' security and freedom, as well as public order, may be under threat. Every decent person, even an opponent of the Slovak president, must clearly denounce such practices. Our government has not yet done so; I am therefore doing it now in order to raise my voice as a president and a citizen against this act of banditry.

I am sure that everybody will understand that the event has also touched me as the father. The president, too, is a human being and has his or her close relatives. However, this event has also touched me in my capacity as the supreme constitutional official, whose responsibility it is to care for the rights and security of our citizens. That is one of the reasons that yesterday I asked the foreign minister to send on our behalf an official note to Austria demanding the return of our forcefully abducted citizen.

We are all of us asking who is behind this abduction. All, even those who have no legal education, are asking the classical Cui prodest. Who benefited?

This abduction has marred the regular completion of the investigation into the fraud case at Technopol [Slovak export company]. Michal Kovac Jr. was to give testimony before the German investigator as early as this month. Everything would have then become clear. Somebody was interested in a different result.

I was concerned to see the activity of the public institution media, which became involved in a disinformation campaign, making untrue statements. Michal Kovac Jr. has never been sentenced, neither in Germany nor in Slovakia. No charges have been brought against him. In the court and police files of the German prosecution, he is merely named as a suspect. In his case, too, the presumption of innocence should have been observed, and he should have been treated as innocent. Each citizen of our country is entitled to this.

I am deeply convinced that my son is innocent. Some of the reports carried by certain media yesterday contradict this principle. I have to strongly denounce this campaign, which is attempting to portray my son as a Mafia member and a criminal.

I have to categorically deny reports that my son has been running businesses in the spheres of casinos, gaming machines, and bars as claimed by some mass media. He has never been and is not active in this sphere, and he has never privatized anything. This can be easily verified. Moreover, the company (Sicko) in which my son is a partner has never had any work or business contacts with the damaged company Technopol, as Technopol's director general recently confirmed.

It is neither ethical nor humane to attack a person who has been dragged abroad in a gangsterlike manner

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and who has been rendered helpless. [Kovac's voice breaking, near tears]

I have always preached the principle that any suspicion of any criminal offense has to be properly investigated, and, if proved guilty, the offender has to be sentenced accordingly. This is the principle I maintain even now, even though my son could be affected by it. May it be the law and legality that are put into action and not the Mafia practices, banditry, or gangsterlike practices motivated by other things.

Esteemed listeners! I do not find it easy to talk. Inside me, there is a clash between a president and a father. However, I cannot allow methods of this sort to become a normal practice and go unpunished in our young country, which is our homeland and that all of us love. Today it is my son, tomorrow it could be some other citizen of our state.

[Announcer] After he delivered his statement, President Michal Kovac answered several questions put to him by journalists. First of all, he answered a question concerning the line of his son's business.

[Kovac] My son is involved in the export and import of mostly foodstuffs, depending on opportunities that come his way. This means that there is no restriction there. To be honest, I cannot even list the articles at this moment.

[Correspondent] What was the reason for which he was charged by the Bavarian Prosecutor's Office?

[Kovac] The reason was that the two people who were investigated, charged, and sentenced named my son and his partner and said that he had received some money from this fraud.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, will the recent developments not affect your decision to address the parliament?

[Kovac] Of course not. There is no reason I should not deliver the address.

Slobodnik Responds to Holbrooke's Minority Rights Views

AU0109161295 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 31 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Statement issued by Dusan Slobodnik, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Foreign Committee: "Slovakia Cannot Be a Guinea Pig"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—NEPSZABADSAG's Bratislava correspondent telephoned me on 28 August and asked me to comment on the opinion expressed by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State R. Holbrooke on collective rights for minorities. NEPSZABADSAG (very objectively, without omitting anything significant) published my reaction on Tuesday.

In essence, I can restate the arguments I made to NEPSZABADSAG's correspondent—with minor additions and changes.

1. The U.S. Administration's representative whose name was abused by Messrs. Bugar, Duray, and Nagy following their return from the United States—adviser to President B. Clinton, D. Fried—said at a meeting with deputies from the National Council of the Slovak Republic in June 1995 that the United States does not recognize collective rights (in his terminology, "group rights"). A sentiment expressed by D. Fried on this occasion should also be added here: If anyone begins to talk about revising the Trianon Treaty, he will leave the room.

2. No official international document contains collective rights for minorities. This comment was made by a man whose opinion has to be respected—Hungarian Prime Minister G. Horn, when he presented the Slovak-Hungarian treaty in the Hungarian parliament.

3. As far as individual minority rights are concerned, Slovakia is, without a doubt, among the top five European states, not only from the point of view of the theory but also from implementing these rights. Slovakia, however, cannot be a guinea pig for Europe in promoting collective rights for minorities.

4. This is what I did not say to NEPSZABADSAG: According to his interpretation, R. Holbrook assessed positively the policy of official Moldovan circles toward the Gagauz minority. It is necessary to add, however, that, within the framework of Moldova, the Gagauz people make up a small enclosed enclave. It is not even theoretically possible to implement collective demands for a minority that does not live in an enclave. As is known, alongside the 570,000 ethnic Hungarians living in southern Slovakia, there are 700,000-900,000 Slovaks.

5. Naturally, if collective rights become the European norm and become an element of official documents, it will be necessary to return to the issue. It is not very probable, however, that the international organizations would accept a change in the norms. The point of view contained in the Framework Agreement on the Protection of Ethnic Minorities, signed in Strasbourg on 1 February 1995 and ratified by both Hungary and Slovakia, confirms only individual rights for members of the ethnic minorities.

[Signed] Dusan Slobodnik

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Hungarian Association Protests Bilingual Teaching

LD0209180895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Slovakia, the Association of Hungarian Teachers is initiating a nationwide protest against the education law. In its opinion, the alternative education bill—in other words, the one prescribing bilingual teaching—is upsetting people and causing divisions among the teaching staff, and the political debate that has evolved around it is intimidating teachers. For this reason, the association recommends that, instead of the children, the parents should go to the opening of the academic year on 4 September, that they should not listen to the ministerial speech broadcast on Bratislava Radio, and that in the evening they should hold a silent demonstration.

Defense Minister on Talks With Polish Counterpart

AU0109172495 Bratislava OBRANA in Slovak 2 Sep 95 No 35, pp 1, 3

[Interview with Slovak Defense Minister Jan Sitek "prepared by" "(m)"; place and date not given: "A Path of Advantageous Cooperation"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Defense Minister Jan Sitek visited the Polish Republic on the next to last Wednesday in August. During his talks with his counterpart, Zbigniew Okonski, he discussed a whole range of issues associated with the development of bilateral cooperation between our countries. [passage omitted]

[OBRANA] Could you acquaint our readers with the contents of your just-completed talks?

[Sitek] We chiefly exchanged views on the Partnership for Peace program. Both the Polish and the Slovak Governments now perceive it as a very useful and beneficial means of cooperation between individual states and the North Atlantic Alliance. This is after the initial, I would say, suspicion that this was simply a way of giving the states striving for admission to NATO some kind of temporary substitute.

On the basis of individual plans that accept the countries' specific features and economic potential, the program enables our countries to initiate and begin to implement a whole series of legislative, military, and other measures—all with the goal of brining us closer to NATO.

[OBRANA] Did you also discuss the participation of our units and observers in the UN peacekeeping missions?

[Sitek] We briefed each other on our views on the UN peacekeeping missions, mainly within the context of the events on the territory of the states that made up the former Yugoslavia. We do not consider them to be sufficiently effective. Of course, this statement does not reduce the significance that our two states attach to the participation of our observers and military units in the regions where peacekeeping missions are under way. It is more that the countries' endeavor to help should have a greater effect in the future. [passage omitted]

[OBRANA] Will we also cooperate in the sphere of modernizing our armies' weaponry?

[Sitek] Perhaps the most extensive part of our talks was devoted to the issues of creating conditions for cooperation in the sphere of improving the quality of weaponry and military hardware. The Polish side is extremely interested in introducing our Zuzana artillery system into its weaponry. We could make use of our friends' experience in improving the electronic equipment for combat aircraft and the quality of ground radar systems. The specific preparation and implementation of such programs, which, of course, we understand within the context of our countries' economic potential, is already a matter for the experts, whose path toward cooperation is open. To ensure that it also receives a specific framework, and not only in the weaponry sphere, where other departments should also become involved, we agreed to intensify work on the plan for cooperation between the Defense Ministries for the years 1996 to 2000.

Kovac Censures Cabinet's Privatization Policy

AU0209102995 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Aug 95 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac by Pavol Minarik in Bratislava; date not given: "I Am Not Going To Resign; If I Did, I Would Harm the State Interests of Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Minarik] At regular intervals, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] representatives call upon you to tender your resignation. How do you feel about this, not only as the head of state but also as a politician who cofounded that movement a few years ago?

[Kovac] I am trying hard to keep my reactions as free of emotion as possible. At the same time, I am trying to carefully weigh my responsibility as head of state for Slovakia, for its democratic development, and for the course of the transformation process. All of that brings me to the conclusion that I cannot afford to react to these calls positively. I have to hang on in the presidential post and go on fulfilling as responsibly as I can the task I have been appointed to. Any other solution would be contrary to state interests. If I were to resign, I would harm them.

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[Minarik] Do you not feel lonely, in view of the recent goings-on in your regard?

[Kovac] I really do not. I attentively follow citizens' reactions and public opinion poll results and soberly analyze the present situation and know that I am not alone. I believe that the majority of our citizens feel the need for me to remain and hold on in the post of president. In the final analysis, this helps me to resist various pressures more easily.

[Minarik] There is much talk in the Slovak press about an expected "hot autumn." Do you harbor such apprehensions?

[Kovac] No. Fortunately, I have no apprehensions for myself. I am rather sad and sometimes unhappy at the situation in Slovakia being afflicted by all kinds of unconstructive and unnecessary struggles. I realize that this impairs our image abroad but also deprives us of strength we badly need to settle domestic problems.

[Minarik] What is it that jeopardizes the stability of Slovakia the most, in your opinion?

[Kovac] One could say that it is the domestic political instability. This instability naturally has its causes, but I would not want to go into them in greater detail now. Furthermore, it is the way privatization is being or is to be implemented. I am afraid that the outcome of the distribution of national property will be such that the majority of our citizens will feel a sense of injustice. This could ultimately become a potential source of tension and, hence, a threat to stability. To all of the above, I have to add vulgar and radical nationalism, the low standard of political culture, and the lack of willingness for businesslike dialogue.

[Minarik] How do you, as an economist, assess the government's efforts to change coupon privatization into the nonprivatization issuance of state bonds?

[Kovac] It is the right of every government to opt for a certain economic policy and, in this case, also for a certain method of privatization. This makes it all the more important that this process should take place on the basis of the principle of relative justice. Had the citizens of the Slovak Republic been given two possibilities from the beginning—either to opt for compensation for a part of [state] property in the form of bonds or to obtain a share in the property of some companies by means of "coupon" privatization—everything could be in perfect order. However, the change in the method of privatization placed emphasis on granting citizens compensation, which has automatically created a wider space for other forms of privatization, to which most of them do not have equal access. But, most important of all, this happened without their consent.

[Minarik] But it has become apparent that even coupon privatization was not the most suitable solution.

[Kovac] Still, it was a relatively more just solution than the so-called sale in installments, which is nothing other than handing out property for free to certain selected people or groups. When you juxtapose coupon privatization and sales on installments, which are not real sales because no one is buying anything with his own money because he cannot afford it but is paying off the price from the proceeds of the acquired property, matters become clearer. When the question is whether to give, actually free of charge, a part of state property to citizens in coupon privatization or to give this property to selected groups of people, you must acknowledge that the former is more just. When one speaks about sales of property in installments, it is misleading. What is involved, in reality, is the handing out of large property to the privileged for free.

[Minarik] Why did your brief critical statement on radio, made during your visit to the United States, provoke such a sharp reaction from the government coalition?

[Kovac] I cannot explain this very well myself because our government representatives or parliamentary deputies who have visited the United States or confer in European institutions have themselves heard from the U.S. side similar views and comments on our political developments. I did not say anything that had not been said about us earlier. The only difference was, perhaps, that I communicated the views that I heard in the United States to the public directly and candidly. It is the public's right, in my opinion, that it always be informed objectively on how countries that will have the main say when it comes to the integration of the Slovak Republic into the EU or into NATO view developments in our country. When the time of the decisive steps comes, it would be an unpleasant surprise if they did not have sufficient public support precisely because of the poor level of information. Questions of such importance cannot be concealed from citizens.

[Minarik] You recently said that disappointment must not grow into apathy and that some Slovaks seem to have lost the faith that the step from totalitarianism toward democracy was the right step. Are you not afraid that mere words and appeals are no longer enough?

[Kovac] I am afraid, and I do not think this applies only to Slovakia. Anaiogous views can probably be observed also in other countries going through a similar development. Citizens demand not only specific deeds but also specific results. This is an urgent appeal to public officials, mainly governments, to seek ways of reversing the development so that the living conditions of ordinary people improve more palpably.

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[Minarik] Your contacts with Czech President Vaclav Havel are regular, but the prime ministers of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic have not met for almost one and a half years. Are you not worried about this?

[Kovac] I am because the Czech Republic is our neighbor, and we attribute great significance to relations with it, which no one calls in question. Given the existence of some open problems, it is not good for the meetings of prime ministers to be held at such long intervals. It would be desirable if their negotiations were more intensive and more frequent. I would like to believe that experts on both sides are working and that a meeting of prime ministers will be held. Apparently, this will happen when there is a guarantee that it can also yield positive results.

[Minarik] In spite of the tense political situation, the Slovak economy has started achieving good results.

[Kovac] This really is a gratifying and encouraging phenomenon. These are the first fruits of the democratic development and transformation of the economic system, privatization, and the increasingly improving market system. As an economist, I realize, however, that many capacities were idle and that we are now profiting from their being gradually put to use again. But when I look into the future, I am disturbed by the slow pace of foreign investment. The sum of $600 million invested over the previous period really is very small, especially when we compare it with the influx of investments into the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, even if, naturally, one considers the number of inhabitants and the size of those countries. This places before us the urgent task of achieving political stability and raising the credibility of Slovakia in the world. This would perhaps be helped by the improvement of some economic and tax conditions.

Meciar on Constitution, Death Penalty

LD0109220395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] It is Constitution Day today so our regular Friday interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is devoted to our Constitution. The interview was prepared by Ludmila Bulakova.

[Begin recording] [Bulakova] Prime Minister, three years ago, on 1 September 1992, you said that time would test the contents of the Constitution as well as the relevance of the parliamentary debate related to it. From the ranks of both the opposition and the coalition there are voices calling for amendments to the Constitution. However, some experts claim that the fundamental law of the Republic should change only after a long time and on the basis of an exact analysis rather than on the basis of short-time experience. Prime Minister, which of those voices will you join?

[Meciar] Our Constitution has embodied some new elements. First, contrary to former French theories of power division, we failed in our effort to legislate for the division of power between four bodies. This experiment was not very successful. The idea behind it was that one body has to create the law, someone else has to carry it out, and yet someone else has to make decisions on the basis of the law. We tried to introduce the fourth element by saying that someone else has to oversee the observation and [word indistinct] of the law. This fourth element has not been fully developed.

With regard to individual paragraphs of the Constitution, the one on civil and human rights is well formulated. We have introduced the parliamentary type of republic and that, too,y is very good. The unbalanced part is the relationship between the president, the government, and parliament. However, this lack of balance ensues not from the Constitution but from its interpretation. In my view, and also according to several law theoreticians and legal experts, the ruling of the Constitutional Court resulted in a change of the law. This represents a shift in meaning, but we ourselves have created the possibility of such a shift by the wording of the Constitution.

With hindsight, as one of the proposers and one of the coauthors, I consider our Constitution to be a document of an extreme importance and one that has been internationally approved as a project of a democratic state and a project that played a key role in the Slovak Republic. Even though it is scarred by a few blemishes, it is, on the whole, still a fine one.

[Bulakova] Although the constitutional law on the conflict of interest has already touched the Constitution, there have been no other essential changes. However, following the original proposals by your coalition partner, the Slovak National Party, the Government of the Slovak Republic has adopted a note asking the Council of Europe to reassess the observance of the ban on the death penalty, a ban also enshrined in our Constitution. According to legal experts, this request is unlikely to succeed in the Council of Europe. Was this request a mere gesture made by the government?

[Meciar] The government's view was not affected solely by the view of the Slovak National Party. The growth of crime in Slovakia is exceptional; there are many attacks on life. Public opinion is in favor of the reintroduction of death penalty. The introduction of the death penalty would be applicable only in the event of premeditated murder. Still, this contradicts the present wording of the Constitution. [passage omitted] [end recording]

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Unions Walk Out of Tripartite Council Meeting

AU0109174495 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by "cr": "Tripartite Discussed Only One Item on Its Agenda; Relations Among Social Partners Are Coming to a Head"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—At yesterday's meeting of the Council of Economic and Social Accord (RHSD), the social partners discussed only the implementation of the General Agreement in the first half of the year. During the discussion of the second item on the agenda—compensation for the abolition of discounts in public transport fares—representatives of the Confederation of Trade Unions (KOZ) of the Slovak Republic walked out of the meeting after reading a protest statement. [passage omitted]

In a joint statement on the trade unionists' walkout, the government and the Association of Employers Unions write that both social partners reject the KOZ's protest and the rendering of the RHSD unfunctional. "We regard this as the politicizing of expert and practical issues with which the tripartite should deal and as the transfer of internal KOZ problems to the tripartite," the statement reads. [passage omitted]

Sergej Kozlik, deputy prime minister and finance minister, said that the government and the employers had put forward verbally certain solutions that they would like to finalize with the social partners within two weeks. The trade unionists rejected this initiative, however, and walked out of the meeting. Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kalman, who chairs the RHSD, said that an optimal model of a differentiated compensation for the increase in public transport fares has not been found to date. According to him, the trade unionists can protest legitimately only in this respect. He said, furthermore, that relations among social partners, especially between the government and the trade unions, are coming to a head.

Arms Factory Head Discusses Conversion Process

AU0109171095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 30 August, on page 2 of the paper's weekly EKONOMIKA PLUS economic supplement, carries a 1,000-word interview with Milan Nanak, director of the ZTS (Heavy Engineering Works) Dubnica nad Vahom company, by Emil Bajanek entitled "End of a Voyage in a Leaky Boat." The interview, the place and date of which are not given, deals with the conversion process in ZTS Dubnica.

In an introductory paragraph, PRAVDA says: "Until 1989, ZTS Dubnica nad Vahom used to be called the flagship of the arms industry and the engine of the engineering industry in Slovakia. The rash conversion of arms manufacturing has brought it to the brink of bankruptcy. In the 1980's, heavy artillery equipment accounted for up to three-quarters of the output of the factory, which employed more than 16,000 people. The government has decided that ZTS Dubnica will be included in the newly emerging DMD holding company, based in Trencin. Since 16 May 1995, the company has had a new director, Milan Nanak, who gave us an interview."

Nanak first discusses the company's recent economic results. He notes that, "thanks to the revival of some production activities," ZTS Dubnica has managed to cut its operating losses from 1 billion korunas (Sk) in 1993 to Sk748 million last year and Sk270 million in the first half of this year. It plans to produce Sk1.9 billion worth of goods in 1995 and to increase its output to Sk3.5 billion in 1996, he says. While the director concedes that the government wrote off a company credit of almost Sk1 billion in 1993 and granted ZTS Dubnica a government guarantee for an Sk2.7 billion credit for its REDA project (production of extraction equipment for the oil industry), he complains that interest payments of Sk270 million on the written-off loan principal continue to burden the company and that, leaving aside the above government measures, it "has to come to terms with the consequences of conversion alone."

Speaking about the conversion process, Nanak then says: "At the very start of the process of restructuring production, we submitted 10 projects, eight of which were accepted. Because of the dearth of state subsidies and depletion of our own funds, our success rate in implementing these projects has been roughly 50 percent. We associate the company's future with the consummation of the REDA project, permanent growth of production of axial hydraulic transmissions, the revived production of self-propelled machines, special equipment, and other commodities." According to Nanak, "special production currently accounts for about 5 percent" of the company's output and "consists mainly of spare parts for the needs of the Slovak Army." Asked about the production of "Zuzana," the company's new 155-mm self-propelled howitzer, Nanak mentions that Zuzana "has recently successfully undergone very demanding tests abroad" and is "an outstanding product, in which partners are greatly interested," but he refuses to provide any more details: "The times when everyone could walk in and out of our installations for the production

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of special equipment are irreversibly gone. The same applies to the provision of some type of information on the company. We know how to protect our know-how, and even foreign experts appreciate that."

In conclusion, Nanak is asked whether the company, which has retained only slightly over 6,000 of its erstwhile 16,000 employees, will be able to renew arms production, should demand for it pick up. He replies that the company knows about all its departed employees and that "many of them have promised that, in case of production recovery, they will return to the company under certain conditions." He also notes that no more layoffs are planned.

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MiG-29 Fighters in Readiness for Military Alert

LD0109173395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The MiG-29 fighters have been placed in readiness for military alert in Kecskemet. This practically means that from now on the planes can be used from the military point of view. Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti has reassured the population that there is no cause for anxiety or panic. However, Keleti stressed, and we quote, that we will not allow and will prevent with all possible means any atrocities against our country's land or airspace.

Keleti: Border Not on Alert

LD0409082395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti confirmed earlier today that there is no military alert on Hungary's southern borders. Speaking on the "Morning Chronicle" program, he said that border defenses have been strengthened only because the possibility of a Serbian-Croatian armed conflict cannot be ruled out, despite the easing of tension on the other side of the border. The readiness level of the Air Force and air defense forces has been heightened, but this is a normal peacetime condition, the minister said.

He also said the Army is capable of defending the country's sovereignty and airspace. This means that NATO's help would not be needed even if Hungary's airspace is violated.

Paper on NATO Analysis of Domestic Situation

LD0309114295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] While the strength of the government coalition is being put to the test, the paper SZINES VASARNAP learned that the NATO countries' ambassadors are doing everything they can to maintain the Socialist-Free Democrat government alliance. The paper found out that several embassies have been circulated with an analysis that says that in the event of the coalition's failure, extraordinary elections would have to be called, since the Socialists, with their 54 percent parliamentary majority, could only govern the country for a few months. [passage omitted]

Horn Reviews Relations With Slovakia

LD0409175095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1305 GMT 4 Sep 95

["Preagenda Speech" to National Assembly by Prime Minister Gyula Horn—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Our relationship with Slovakia is developing well. I must say that my own personal experience and the facts prove that Slovak Prime Minister Meciar is a man who keeps his word. Thanks to his recent personal intervention and the constructive approach of the Slovak Government, Szigetkoez and the surrounding region are now receiving sufficient water to revive the area's wildlife—something that could not be achieved before.

At the recent meeting [on 30 August] we also agreed to make a joint effort to conclude a comprehensive agreement of the entire Gabcikovo affair. In other words, to enable the two countries to conclude a bilateral agreement alongside The Hague.

What does this mean? It means that we will begin expert talks about the specific disputed issues and about ways of a possible agreement. These negotiations will begin this week. I would like to stress that agreements of this kind have been frequent in the history of the court in The Hague—that while the claim is handled in the court, the parties try to reach agreement among themselves. [passage omitted]

Furthermore, negotiations of this kind do not change at all the fact that the two parties' claims have been submitted to the court in The Hague. In other words, these claims do not pass the time limit of statutory limitations, nor do they become invalidated in any way. However, if we are able to reach an agreement with guarantees, then the claims will automatically cease.

The government will not conclude any agreement unless it is approved by parliament. I wish to stress this. [passage omitted]

This issue has not merely economic significance. If we can reach an out-of-court agreement, it will send a message to Europe, too—a message suggesting that two neighboring countries are able to settle their disputes in a civilized and European way. An agreement of this kind would represent, in any case, a great step forward and would strengthen our international prestige and authority.

We also agreed last week on preparations for the construction of the Parkany [Sturovo]-Esztergom bridge and on our requests to the EU for financial support in connection with this. We also agreed on broadening cooperation in privatization matters and that we would

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provide for the ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia great scope for manoeuver and a big role to play in this regard. [passage omitted]

Naturally, we discussed, as we have done several times before, the draft Slovak language law of alternative [language] education or the so-called state law. This draft has already been amended several times and we hope that it will be amended further. What is important for us is that the Slovak government will solicit the views of the experts of the Council of Europe about this issue.

I daresay that the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty, which you, too, have adopted, provides a really good basis for the harmonious and standard development of Slovak-Hungarian relations.

With regard to all this, I would like to underline that this government has not forgotten—nor has this parliament, I believe—the Hungarians living in neighboring countries beyond the borders. We continuously support them and we are firmly convinced that the improvement of bilateral relations with neighboring countries serve their interests. We have not renounced the practice of voicing at international forums the problems which are timely or which very adversely affect Hungarians. We continue to do this, we continue to approach international forums. [passage omitted]

In other words, we are not talking about giving up any government or coalition position of principle. [passage omitted]

Horn Addresses Assembly on Coalition, Current Issues

LD0409171995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The National Assembly's autumn session opened at 1500 this afternoon. Our correspondent, Andras Kerekes, reports from the parliament building.

[Begin Kerekes recording] The government invariably insists on its stabilization program, and possible personnel decisions should serve this aim, Prime Minister Gyula Horn stressed. In his speech, which lasted for about 30 minutes, he first spoke about the current debate between the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Alliance of Free Democrats. He expressed his regret over the fact that the key point of the debate was missed. Originally, the debate was focussed on the improvement of the government's performance.

The coalition has gained a lot of experience over the past 14 months of the coalition government, and Horn is convinced that talks on the future of the coalition will lead to results. He is determined to come to a decision on questions that are left open. He, in any case, is in favor of an agreement.

He described the assumptions, that the government would like to abandon its stabilization policy, unfounded. This was not even among the ideas raised, for results have already been obvious. The deterioration of the financial situation has significantly slowed down, and the stabilization process has started. All this can establish a basis for economic growth in future. There is indeed a chance for the country's stabilization, Gyula Horn stressed.

He also spoke about new job creation programs. Owing to cooperation with Germany and Austria, these programs might have positive effects in the near future. His visits to Switzerland, Netherlands, Germany, and the Far East, which are scheduled to take place during this autumn, may also provide opportunities to find further financial and investment opportunities.

Horn said that about $200 million had come to the country every month this year. Half of this amount was company loans, the other half came in the form of working capital. That is to say, Hungary has maintained its prominent role in the region.

He also stressed the need to curb the black economy. He said that a measure was adopted at the government session held at the end of August, and this gave hope that the introduction of visa requirement could be avoided.

He appreciated the constructive dialogue, which was established with three opposition parties, and stressed that he intended to continue these talks on a regular basis, and then to sum up the results at a six-party meeting. In a similar way, the government feels obliged to establish continuous dialogue with trade unions, churches, and civic organizations.

Regarding our international relations, Gyula Horn said, among other things, that he considered Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to be a man of his word. For example, Meciar achieved that Szigetkoez [area dried out as a result of the diversion of the Danube by Slovakia for the Gabcikovo power station] receives more water now, and that they were also trying to come to an agreement on the entire Gabcikovo dispute. This, naturally, did not affect the lawsuits before The Hague International Court of Justice. [end recording] [passage omitted]

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Parties React to Speech

LD0409181895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The chairmen of the government coalition parties [Hungarian Socialist Party, and the Alliance of Free Democrats, SZDSZ] have confirmed that they intend to settle their dispute as soon as possible, while the opposition has warned that the coalition crisis already threatens domestic political stability. Andras Kerekes reports from the parliament building.

[Kerekes] [Passage omitted] The parliamentary groups' chairmen had ten minutes each to react to the prime minister's speech.

Ivan Peto [SZDSZ chairman] considered it unacceptable to spend time with this kind of dispute and to give the impression that the government coalition was engaged in sorting out its own problems. For all this, he blamed those public announcements [Gyula Horn's announcements on planned new government posts] which confronted them with a fait accompli and which could not be left without an answer.

Ivan Szabo, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], was of the opinion that the situation is far from being as promising as was described by the prime minister. However, the opposition is not as pessimistic as was reflected in the junior government coalition party's contribution.

Jozsef Torgyan, chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP], asked Gyula Horn how he wants to cooperate with opposition parties when he is not even able to cooperate effectively with the coalition partner.

Tamas Isepy, parliamentary group leader of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], said they would really like it if it [the dispute within the government coalition] was about the improvement of the coalition's performance and not about personnel issues, and if economic instability was not accompanied by political instability.

Jozsef Szajer, parliamentary group leader of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party [Fidesz-MPP], stressed that the society cannot bear the extra burden of the coalition dispute, which continued to gain positions. The government is irresponsible and unsuitable for its duty, it would be better if it resigned, he said.

In his response Horn repeated that the dispute between the coalition parties did not influence the government's functioning to the slightest extent over the summer and that he intended to be in cooperation with the opposition common factor.

Nagy Would Not Accept Government Position

AU0509103995 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Sep 95 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed interview with Sandor Nagy, chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions, on 3 September; place not given: "Sandor Nagy Does Not Accept It Anymore"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In his interview with NEPSZABADSAG on the evening of 3 September, Sandor Nagy, chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions (MSZOSZ), said that in the newly emerged situation, he would no longer accept the governmental position. According to Nagy, Gyula Horn is prevented from more forcefully asserting the Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] importance within the government.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Certain things have happened since 2 September, when we published an interview with you. What are your views after the 3 September coalition talks?

[Nagy] All that is possible to know about the formal and informal talks and the compromise that is emerging is that these are visibly different from the prime minister's original plans and especially from what I had planned, what I had considered reasonable and feasible. Bargaining with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] is becoming less and less—in fact, this has been so from the beginning—about the subject of the prime minister's original initiative, rather, it is quite plainly about party interests and power positions.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What do you mean by this?

[Nagy] What I have already indicated many times: The analysis, planning, and coordination that should be directed at the economy's real processes to result in a more sensible, coordinated, and efficient way of using the very scarce resources, is demonstrably missing from the government's work; this way, it would be possible to uncover additional domestic and foreign resources, and projects of major importance could be prepared.

In a word, we could expect partly from this to get out of the crisis, to have workplaces, and to stop the process of impoverishment. The rather transparent intention which, from the beginning, has been trying to contrast this thought with the stabilization program, is simply ridiculous. For everyone who is to some extent familiar with the economy's current state, it is obvious that rather than contrast, this is a case of coexistence. One supposes, rather than cancels, the other. Strangely enough, even the Free Democrats now admit that all this is to a certain extent justified. However, the

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solution they recommend, and the method outlined by the MSZP's negotiating delegation according to which the functions of the Industry and Trade Ministry [IKM] could perhaps be broadened, are only pseudosolutions to this problem. No one can seriously say that the current, almost inconceivably broad tasks could be further expanded. Therefore, the essence of this "solution" is that nothing changes in the current conditions.

As a matter of fact, in my view, what lies behind it is the incredibly strong Free Democrat intention that wants at all costs to prevent anyone on new points and positions from being able to see the economic policy processes and especially the concrete decisions made in the background.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Should we understand by this that you would not accept the task that seems to be emerging even if you were asked to fill this position?

[Nagy] Yes, this is one way of interpreting it. I considered the prime minister's original ideas—after clarifying certain important details—to be rational and I believed that I had a chance to be useful in such a position. However, the Free Democrats do not consider either the position or my person acceptable. The latter is not surprising for me and does not give me a bad feeling, apart from the way it was presented. However, the situation emerging in connection with the essence of this issue is rather worrying.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You appear to be drawing more general conclusions from last week's debates....

[Nagy] This is the point. It is up to every individual what views they hold and what ideal solutions they swear by. However, it is rather far from the democratic way of thinking to declare that the economy and society can only be viewed in one way, namely in one person's particular way. All other thoughts are mistaken and damaging, have to be kept away, and even have to be prevented from being discussed. In my view, this is an intellectual-political dictate and its consequences are rather serious. If a government in which the Socialist Party happens to have a decisive majority, is in a situation in which certain government party politicians or a government member talks about the trade unions and the employees organized by them in a belittling way at best, if the term trade union is used as a synonym for stupid, harmful, and confused, then this situation speaks for itself.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Talking of which, why did you actually meet [Finance Minister] Lajos Bokros and [Industry and Trade Minister] Imre Dunai?

[Nagy] Bokros initiated the meeting after the parliamentary group meeting. I considered it important to meet Dunai before I made any decisions.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Are you not saying all this because you have been offended, from the position of the loser?

[Nagy] No, although I can do very little or almost nothing to counter this impression. At the most, I can repeat that it was not me who applied for the position, I did not seek this situation, and I have no such intention that I must get into government for any task and any reason, at all costs. No one can seriously believe that I am not clear about all the disadvantages and difficulties one has to face when accepting a governmental function in the current situation.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is it possible that you only pretended to assess the offer?

[Nagy] This is not the point. I would not have had a moral basis to say no because I wholeheartedly believe that all constructive social forces have to be assembled and all possible thoughts and honest intentions have, at least, to be examined in this situation. I believe that we should finally address people about the cause of the current problems, the conditions of getting out of them, and the points in which society must cooperate. Therefore, this concept tries to expand the political basis, rather than exclude everyone from it. I am against exclusions. For this very reason, if there is a morsel of truth in what has been said then this is not my personal problem. It is not me with whom matters have to be clarified.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Then who, with whom, and on what?

[Nagy] I do not wish to avoid the answer but I feel that it is much more precise for someone to answer these questions: Why can a party with a 54 percent mandate not determine, and not even gradually influence the government's appearance? Can a government coalition, which is only held together by power interests and related considerations be successful and credible? What will be the result if blackmail is the main means to solving a dispute?

The meaning of the series of proposals that were made by Horn in the MSZP parliamentary group and that were supported by a big majority of the parliamentary group, was precisely the fact that the prime minister wanted to take measures for more effective governmental work, and it was also his firm intention to more powerfully assert the Socialist Party's political intentions and importance in the government. It now seems to me that he will be prevented from doing this.

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I respect Horn for all he has done in the previous four to five years to give a style and stance to the democratic left wing. However, I do not now envy his position because he would have to dance tied down with ropes, which perhaps even the otherwise completely perfect and faultless SZDSZ politicians would not be able to do.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Are you not premature with your summary assessment? This afternoon, it still seems that nothing has been decided.

[Nagy] It is possible that I am hasty and wrong in my assessment of past events because the talks have not yet ended. In fact, on this occasion, I would not mind if I was wrong, actually, I positively wish it.

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Izetbegovic Tells Holbrooke of Concerns About Plan

AU0509094795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 5 Sep 95

[Report by Benijamin Butkovic from Ankara—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The talks between President Izetbegovic and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke that began late last night have resumed this morning and are being attended by Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller. Opinions have again been exchanged about the so-called grey patches [siva mjesta] in the U.S. peace initiative. President Izetbegovic pointed out that the key remarks that Bosnia-Herzegovina has concern some proposed constitutional provisions, as well as proposed corrections to the Contact Group maps.

The talks lasted about 40 minutes and the participants did not make any statements because a news conference is convened for 1100 Central European time [0900 GMT].

The talks between President Izetbegovic and Turkish Deputy Prime Minister Hikmet Cetin are under way at the moment.

This was a report from Ankara by Benijamin Butkovic for Radio and Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Says Plan 'Too Unspecified'

AU0509085595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, met with Richard Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state and peace negotiator, in Ankara last night. Prior to the talks, President Izetbegovic criticized the U.S. peace plan, considering it too unspecified [neodredjen]. Izetbegovic said that Bosnia-Herzegovina will never renounce the regions occupied by Karadzic's Serbs.

Holbrooke assessed the three hour-long talks with our president during which new U.S. peace initiative was discussed as excellent and pointed out that the United States does not support a confederation between Karadzic's Serbs and Serbia. Holbrooke pointed out that the talks with the presidents of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia are continuing.

Silajdzic: No Talks If Serb Attacks Continue

LD0309204795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 3 Sep 95

[Report on statement by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said in a special statement for the BH PRESS news agency that at present Serb terrorists are being successful in defusing the situation which was designed to punish them for for killing civilians and to force them to come to the negotiating table.

Silajdzic said this following UN commander Bernard Janvier's latest decision to freeze the air strikes against the aggressor Serb positions for a period of time in order to resume the negotiations with war criminal General Ratko Mladic. I think we are jeopardizing the positive changes brought about by the air strikes, the changes that promised a speedy and successful peace process, said Prime Minister Silajdzic.

Asked by a correspondent whether, in the light of the new situation, there was any point in reopening the blue road via [Mount] Igman, especially considering the safety of passengers, Prime Minister Silajdzic said: There is a point in doing it because we have to survive; the aggressor can threaten the safety of the road if the international community and NATO fail to take advantage of what has been achieved so far. If they do it this time again, it is obvious that we will only see a repetition of events.

When the correspondent said that our delegation had no firm guarantees when it signed the agreement on tomorrow's reopening of the blue road, Silajdzic added that only NATO air strikes could provide a real guarantee. They have been suspended now, Prime Minister Silajdzic said and announced that our side would suspend the peace talks if the negative development of events, caused by this NATO and UN decision, continues.

We cannot continue holding peace talks while we are being killed, held under siege, and starved to death. Such talks would be a blackmail. We know very well what the outcome of all this is. This is why the international community must understand that we will not continue the peace talks if this situation continues, Prime Minister Silajdzic said resolutely.

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Rejects Partition, Accuses Carter

AU0409194095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 4 Sep 95

[Report on news conference by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Samir Huseinovic in Sarajevo on 4 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Huseinovic] It seems that NATO air strikes against positions held by Karadzic's Serbs have been suspended. Will the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities continue negotiations under the pressure of further destruction and killing of civilians in protected areas?

[Silajdzic] You know our position; at least, you know my opinion and that is that they have stopped halfway and that by doing this, they are calling into question everything achieved hitherto; the longer this pause lasts, the further away we are from a real peace process. Therefore, if the air strikes are not resumed, if we effectively remain in the same situation here, and if this means that we are being blackmailed into negotiating, and are negotiating while in someone's range finder, we shall reject the continuation of the peace process. If the Serb terrorists fail to withdraw their armaments, and they have to withdraw 540 pieces outside the 20-km exclusion zone in order to secure the safety of all zones and the opening of not only the blue route, but also other routes toward Sarajevo and they have to open Sarajevo airport. [sentence as heard]

[Huseinovic] Talks conducted between Holbrooke and representatives of the Serbian regime were also attended by war criminals [Nikola] Koljevic and [Aleksa] Buha. Do such moves alienate the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities?

[Silajdzic] Of course, everything that happens and is agreed without us will not be accepted. However, I believe that what we have here is an attempt to primarily get the United States to agree that there will be no air strikes even if the Serb terrorists do not withdraw their weaponry.

[Huseinovic] CNN has broadcast an item according to which former U.S. President Carter is joining the peace initiative. It seems, though, that his greatest concern is the position of Karadzic's Serbs if their weapons are withdrawn or destroyed.

[Silajdzic] Former U.S. President Carter joined the whole endeavor approximately an hour ago. Regrettably, I have to say that he did so in a very unexpected way. He is practically trying to save the Bosnian Serb terrorist from air strikes. He has asked for guarantees that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will not take over the Serbs' positions if they withdraw their heavy weapons; therefore, the former human rights activist, former U.S. President Carter is concerned over the positions of Serb terrorists from which 10,000 people in the city have been killed. I have to say that this is very sad news for us. However, he has joined, and not only that, he claims that our government is going to negotiate with the Serb terrorists, and that is not true. Therefore, he is misinforming the public with the goal of at least postponing air strikes; he is trying to capitalize on the fact that the route over the airport has been opened, as if the Serb terrorists had agreed to that, when in reality they have not, but have been presented with a fait accompli. This happened yesterday, we already addressed this issue yesterday through our state Commission for Cooperation with the United Nations headed by Minister Muratovic. He is trying to capitalize on this in a very surprising way for us by openly siding with the Bosnian Serb terrorists. In my opinion, former U.S. President Carter is in this way revoking everything he has been worked on for years, concretely, human rights. He is concerned about the position of the Serb terrorists and their guns, and what will happen once these guns are withdrawn. We immediately denied on CNN that there were going to meeting with the Bosnian Serbs. We expect the air strikes to continue if there is a failure to withdraw heavy weaponry, open the airport, open the routes toward Sarajevo, and if all safe areas are not protected. These are, after all, NATO's conditions.

[Huseinovic] Keeping all this in mind, how do you see the future of the peace negotiations? There is a rumor that international negotiators are discussing an internal division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into two equal parts.

[Silajdzic] There has been a rumor that something of the sort has been offered. One must know that this is unacceptable for us. That would imply that we had a civil war here, that no one has attacked anyone here, that there was no genocide, that 20,000 women have not been raped, that concentration camps have not existed, that everything that has happened has not happened, that there was a civil war, an internal conflict, and that there was no aggression. This would mean that. If the future Bosnia-Herzegovina is to consist of two equal halves, then this would mean that we had a civil war here for which nobody was responsible.

Of course, in that case Belgrade would be completely clear as if the whole thing had not in fact been planned and carried out from Belgrade, and this would only be a segment of a big project, the greater Serbian project.

Therefore, if it is correct that there is an initiative to solve the constitutional setup in the way in which we would have two halves in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and so preserve the state, a state in that we would have

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two halves that are completely equal in rights and that equally participate in the central authorities, we say that we do not agree with that, that something like that cannot exist, nor will anyone in the world agree with that, with the legalization of genocide. And this implies the legalization of genocide.

I have heard that this is the initiative, and that this is being discussed in the international meetings on the peace initiatives for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Huseinovic] What has been overshadowed by peace initiatives are the difficult position of the Bosniaks who are under the control of Karadzic's Serbs and the uncertain position of civilians who found themselves around Srbac. What information do you have on that?

[Silajdzic] Regarding the report that we received on some 3,000 Bosniaks being somewhere around Srbac, in a stadium, and, of course, that their lives are in danger, I do not even know whether these people are the entire remaining population of the Banja Luka region, we are in any case working with the Republic of Croatia and the UNHCR on the urgent transfer of these people via Croatia to the Bosnian Krajina, that is, Bihac.

We are trying to secure transportation and hope that the authorities of the Republic of Croatia will help us with regard to this.

One must know that the lives of all those who are forced to remain there will be in danger. This is quite clear. Minister Cero has been charged with completing this job.

[Huseinovic] Are the Croatian authorities ready to accept Bosniak refugees on their territory. The Croatian authorities have allegedly said that they cannot put this in practice.

[Silajdzic] The Croatian authorities have stated something similar because they are not able to take all the refugees at once. We are not asking them to take the refugees. They have already taken about 4,700 Bosniaks from the Banja Luka region who had recently been expelled. We have another 3,000 people who are under the control of Serb terrorists, 3,000 people who should come out. We hope that the Croatian authorities will help them and allow the transit of these people toward Bihac. We are only asking for that. We are working on this at this very moment; we are trying to establish contact with the Croatian authorities and UNHCR to secure transportation for these people and transit via Croatia.

Sovereignty 'Not Negotiable'

AU0109123895 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 1 Sep 95

[Report by Wolfgang Labuhn, including statements by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Bonn on 1 September—recorded, Silajdzic speaks in English, with consecutive translation into German]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic is currently in Bonn within the framework of a symposium of the Society for Threatened Peoples. Silajdzic highly welcomed the NATO attacks, but was also skeptical about whether they spelled a change in the West's position.

In a speech at the symposium, Silajdzic addressed the human tragedy in his country, which will overshadow Bosnia's future. Silajdzic has only one word to describe this tragedy, genocide, a crime that the international community has been tolerating until now, despite the UN Charter and the Geneva Human Rights Convention. For the so-called ethnic cleansing, which in Silajdzic's view had been systematically planned for 10 years to prepare a Greater Serbia, there could also be only one word, genocide.

[Silajdzic] Ethnic cleansing is nothing else but genocide. If you know that genocide has a definition, that definition fits the ethnic cleansing. So if they go on calling it ethnic cleansing, it still constitutes genocide.

[Labuhn] In the subsequent news conference, in which Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth took part, Silajdzic spoke about the current situation in Bosnia. In his view, the NATO air attacks against the Bosnian Serbs are not sufficient. The arms embargo against Bosnia should also be lifted without delay, because no one could tell for how long the West would be ready to carry out such operations against the Serbs.

Silajdzic sees the U.S. peace initiative only as an attempt to bring all sides involved together at the negotiating table for peace talks on Bosnia's future. He said he had not discussed the future Bosnian map with U.S. diplomat Holbrooke. He had only discussed with him constitutional problems, Silajdzic said, adding that Bosnia's sovereignty as a state is not negotiable. One could at best discuss graded autonomy [abgestufte Automie] for the Bosnian Serbs or forms of their administration within the Bosnian state.

Silajdzic left no doubt about the fact that a confederation of the Bosnian Serbs with what is left of the former Yugoslavia is out of the question. As for the rest, he expressed the hope that a free democracy with a free market economy might ultimately unite the different

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ethnic groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina in a common homeland.

However, this required active help from the international community, in particular the EU, the United States, and the Islamic world, through a Marshall plan that the world owed Bosnia, since one had hindered it from defending itself by imposing an arms embargo.

[Silajdzic] I think the international community owes us the reconstruction thing, owes us a Marshall plan here. The international community owes us this. The international community imposed the arms embargo, tied our hands.

[Labuhn] The main topic discussed at the symposium of the Society for Threatened Peoples is the attempt to draw an interim balance of all crimes against humanity that have been committed in Bosnia for over three years. Silajdzic has therefore come to Bonn at the head of a very large delegation to take part in this meeting, which was organized by the above society along with Sarajevo University and a human rights organization from Malaysia which, like Turkey, is an Islamic state and wants to help the Bosnian Muslims.

Sacirbegovic Casts Doubt on Attendance in Geneva

AU0209213595 Paris AFP in English 1945 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Sept 2 (AFP)—Bosnian Foreign Minister Mohamed Sacirbegovic cast doubt on Bosnia's participation in a meeting of Balkan ministers next week in Geneva if NATO and the United Nations failed to continue efforts to lift the siege on Sarajevo.

Sacirbegovic emerged from talks with his French counterpart Herve de Charette here to threaten Bosnian absence from the meeting with the foreign ministers of Croatia and federal Yugoslavia comprising the governments of Serbia and Montenegro.

"I'm not sure there'll be a Geneva unless there's a continuing effort to lift the siege. We're prepared to continue with Geneva as long as there are simultaneous efforts to lift the siege, to remove the heavy weapons or neutralise them. We're not looking for the means, we're looking for the result," he said.

Earlier a jubilant De Charette emerged from hour-long discussions with Sacirbegovic to reveal the date of the meeting. Last Friday, the United States announced top diplomats from three countries would meet in Switzerland.

Sacirbegovic added: "We look forward to the continuation of the peace effort, and the efforts to bring an end to the siege."

U.S. State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said last week the talks, the first in months to bring officials from the three together, and the first since the NATO and UN air and artillery pounding of Bosnian Serb positions, will "develop basic principles for a settlement as a foundation for intensive negotiations aimed at achieving a peace agreement."

Speaking in Paris, Saturday, De Charette said that Sacirbegovic had been worried by the ongoing shelling of the Bosnian capital by rebel Serbs who have laid siege to Sarajevo since April 1992.

In Sarajevo itself, the Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic reported that a Serb howitzer shell exploded in a city suburb injuring six people including two children.

However, UN military observers who visited the site of the blast said the victims were injured by a rocket-propelled grenade, a much smaller munition than a howitzer shell and fired from a shoulder launcher.

Silajdzic said the explosion was a signal that the Bosnian Serbs were taking advantage of the decision to temporarily suspend NATO bombing raids against Serb military installations.

De Charette stressed the importance France has placed on lifting the siege of Sarajevo, one of the demands made of the Bosnian Serbs for NATO and the United Nations not to resume their bombing campaign.

"France believes that the immediate lifting of the siege of Sarajevo is key," De Charette said Saturday.

The talks in Geneva on Friday will be the latest in a series of talks going on at an international level involving parties to the conflict. UN officials have met with the Bosnian Serbs and NATO leaders while U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, architect and proponent of a U.S. plan for Bosnia, has visited the Balkan regional capitals seeking support for a political settlement.

Zubak Briefs on Status of Serb 'Entity' in Plan

AU0209210795 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 95 p 4

[Report by NINA/HABENA: "Exhaustive Talks About Comprehensive Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mostar—On the return of the delegation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina from a two-day visit to Paris, Kresimir Zubak, president of the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, held a news conference in Mostar.

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During its visit to France, the delegation held talks on the U.S. initiative and the Contact Group's peace plan.

The first round of talks, which were held with U.S. negotiator Holbrooke, focused on the seven points contained in the U.S. initiative. The biggest problem, as President Zubak stressed, lies in the first point, which aims to find a comprehensive peace, that is, a solution to all contentious issues in the former Yugoslavia. The initiative proceeds from the territorial integrity of all the republics of the former Yugoslavia and this implies the mutual recognition of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Other points refer to the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, constitutional arrangements for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the easing of sanctions to the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the issues concerning eastern Slavonia, and the regional development of Bosnia-Herzegovina after the signing of the peace agreement. In addition to discussing these seven points, we also discussed ways to solve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, if the Contact Group's peace plan were signed.

"If all three sides agree to sign the peace agreement, the United States would get directly involved on the ground to oversee the implementation of the peace agreement. If Serbia does not accept the plan, this would mean the extension of sanctions, lifting of the arms embargo, and the withdrawal of the United Nations," Zubak said, adding that an attempt is again being made after a period of 10 or so months to find a peace solution.

The third point referred to what would happen if Bosnia-Herzegovina did not accept the plan. This would mean the withdrawal of the United States from the peace process. "As regards the maps, what will be taken into account is the real situation on the ground and the Contact Group's map. The constitutional arrangements refer to those issues that had been topical during the time the Contact Group was formulating its plan. This means that Bosnia-Herzegovina would be preserved within its internationally recognized borders and that it would be a state consisting of two entities. The constitutional links between these two entities have not been fully worked out," Zubak said. He said that the central issue was the confederal ties of the Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. "There is a clear stand on this, the stand that had been expressed before, namely, that there would be no problems regarding links in culture, economy, and other kind of links between that entity and the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but that the type of the confederal ties and links between the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia as envisaged by the Washington Agreements would not be permissible," Zubak said.

Lazovic: Division Would Lead to Destruction

AU0409171795 Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 2-3 Sep 95 p 6

[Interview with Assembly Chairman Miro Lazovic by Georg Baltissen; place and date not given: "Sarajevo Is the Key"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Baltissen] Who benefits most from the NATO air strikes against Serb positions?

[Lazovic] The citizens of Sarajevo. After three and a half years, they will feel that they will be able to live normally once again. The ultimatum concerning the withdrawal of heavy weapons and the bombardment was necessary to make the Pale aggressors see more sensibly. They will probably come to the negotiating table now.

[Baltissen] How seriously do you treat Radovan Karadzic's claims that he has now submitted to Serbian President Milosevic and that the Bosnian Serbs are a part of the negotiating delegation representing rump Yugoslavia?

[Lazovic] Karadzic has never acted independently. He was always influenced by President Milosevic and above all by General Ratko Mladic: The latter draws his salary from Belgrade. Karadzic is a loser. He is politically isolated. Milosevic now has to completely distance himself from Karadzic. He now wants to play the role of peacemaker, and Karadzic's company does not fit in with such a role.

[Baltissen] If Bosnia is carved up now, as envisaged by the U.S. initiative, and the Bosnian Serbs are able to form a confederation with Serbia and the Bosnian Croats a confederation with Croatia, what will be left for the Bosnian Government?

[Lazovic] Nothing, and this idea that part of the country can form a confederation with another state is the big shortcoming of the U.S. initiative. Some are trying to pull the cargo entirely over to their side. We want the ship to maintain an even course. If there really is a division of the country, that will mark the destruction of the Bosnian state. A solution has to be found that will permit the reintegration of Bosnia.

[Baltissen] If the Bosnian Army were now to take up the positions that have been destroyed by NATO, would that stabilize the ship?

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[Lazovic] The international community can exercise a great influence over what happens there. The Bosnian Army has received strict instructions not to become involved in the fighting now.

[Baltissen] Bosnian Army chief Rasim Delic has literally said that the U.S. initiative lacks a head and a tail. Is that correct?

[Lazovic] The U.S. initiative has a tail and a head, but what is unclear is what lies between the tail and the head. The details are still to be negotiated. We are clearly in favor of modifications.

[Baltissen] Is Gorazde indispensable?

[Lazovic] Srebrenica and Zepa were also indispensable. If Karadzic tries to conquer Gorazde, I am sure that the Serbs in Sarajevo will not be able to remain there. Karadzic conquered Srebrenica and Zepa and then immediately lost the Serbian towns of Grahovo and Glamoc. That is why a political solution is needed that will enable the population of Gorazde to remain there and will allow Sarajevo to preserve its multiethnic character.

Sarajevo is the key to solving the overall situation. The solution that will be found for Sarajevo will also apply to all of Bosnia. That is why I am in favor of enabling the Bosnian Serbs to continue to live in Sarajevo.

Janvier Sends Mladic Conditions for Bombing Pause

AU0309105195 Paris AFP in English 1041 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 3 (AFP)—The UN commander General Bernard Janvier faxed a letter to the Bosnian Serb army commander, Ratko Mladic, Sunday [3 September] setting out conditions for the continued suspension of the NATO action, a UN official said.

"The pause in the NATO air operation will continue provided three conditions are met," a UN official who asked to remain anonymous said. NATO suspended its air raids on the Bosnian Serbs Friday.

Izetbegovic, Gore Discuss Serb Ultimatum

LD0309173695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the letter Alija Izetbegovic sent to U.S. President Bill Clinton yesterday, U.S. Vice President Al Gore phoned Izetbegovic, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency to inform him about the American stances on the future activities of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] and NATO, President Izetbegovic's office has announced.

Vice President Gore said that the United States had not accepted the conditions that the aggressor's General Ratko Mladic tried to set, but had demanded that his forces should not only stop shelling Sarajevo but also irrevocably lift the siege of Sarajevo. According to Gore, if the shelling continues NATO will resume the operation without further delay. The Serbs are expected to withdraw heavy weapons around Sarajevo immediately and to unconditionally allow freedom of movement to UNPROFOR and nongovernmental organizations in and out of the city. If they fail to do so they will be subjected to further NATO air strikes.

Vice President Gore announced that work on repairing the Sarajevo airport runway would begin and that convoys would be sent via [name indistinct]-Kiseljak road in order to check the passability of the road. The airport is expected to be reopened as soon as the runway is repaired.

They also discussed effective control of the withdrawal of Serb artillery around Sarajevo and what the demand for lifting the siege of the city implies. They agreed that the problem of snipers firing at Sarajevo citizens was still unresolved and that further efforts would have to be made to solve that issue. The objective of our action is to lift the siege of the city unconditionally and without delay, Vice President Gore said at the end of his phone conversation with President Izetbegovic.

Mladic: 'Unilateral Cessation of Hostilities'

LD0409194495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1909 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Colonel General Ratko Mladic, chief of the General Staff of the Army of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, today proposed to UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Commander General Bernard Janvier the urgent convening of a meeting of the commanders of the warring parties "with the aim of signing an agreement on complete, lasting, and unconditional cessation of hostilities in former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

"Until this meeting, I declare a unilateral cessation of hostilities in the Sarajevo area, where we will not undertake any action except in the case of self-defense," Mladic said in a letter to Janvier, which was forwarded to TANJUG.

Hereby Mladic responds to Janvier's letter this morning, in which the UNPROFOR commander informed him that NATO forces would resume their strikes unless their ultimatum-style demands to the Serb side, and

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above all the demand to withdraw heavy weapons from the Sarajevo protected area, were met.

The chief of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army also proposed the urgent formation of "a mixed commission of experts from the UN Security Council permanent member countries, which would investigate the Markale 2 massacre and the use of ammunition with toxic and radioactive characteristics" by the Rapid Reaction Force and NATO with, as Mladic said, very well-known effects.

Mladic points out that ultimatums should be replaced with talks "and bombings with agreements that would secure equal treatment and guarantees for both the Serb and Muslim population in Sarajevo." He also wants "the existing agreements to be revised in line with the newly created situation."

General Mladic goes on to invoke the 1949 Geneva Convention regulating the status of protected zones and stresses that in contravention of the Geneva Convention, in the Sarajevo safe area the United Nations has been protecting some of the 1st Muslim Corps units organized in eight brigades and five autonomous battalions, all in all about 25,000 people and 342 pieces of heavy weaponry of all calibers.

Mladic goes on to say that the Sarajevo protected zone and the territory of Serb Sarajevo, from where Serb heavy artillery should be withdrawn, are surrounded by 17 Muslim and three Croat brigades and six autonomous battalions with about 35,000 soldiers and 865 pieces of heavy weaponry of various calibers.

The commander of the General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic calls it an absurdity that 60,000 Muslim soldiers are being protected in the Sarajevo protected zone and around it, while no guarantees exist for the population of Serb Sarajevo.

Letter to Janvier; 'Agreement'

LD0409103095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0920 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—The Information Service of the General Staff of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Army today made public General Ratko Mladic's letter to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander General Bernard Janvier, and the draft agreement on solving the crisis between the Serb Republic Army on the one side, and UNPROFOR and NATO on the other. The documents were drafted at the meeting of the two commanders in Mali Zvornik through the night of 1 and 2 September.

A statement from the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army stresses that at the meeting, the stances were coordinated on elements of Gen. Mladic's response to Janvier's letter, in which Janvier spelled out the conditions for suspending the bombing of Serb Republic territory, as well as the stances on the draft agreement on solving the crisis between the Serb Republic Army and NATO and UNPROFOR forces.

Gen. Janvier refused to sign the agreement, saying that he was not authorized to sign any agreements with Gen. Mladic.

The Information Service of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army also said in its statement that, at Gen. Janvier's insistence, it was agreed that no details from the meeting should be disclosed, which is documented on video and audio tapes.

However, Gen. Janvier later unilaterally told journalists many details from the meeting. Some of these details were interpreted incorrectly, especially by some Croatian and Muslim media, whereby the public is being deceived, and other negative consequences could ensue, the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army points out.

In order to inform the public fully and objectively, the Information Service of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army has been authorized to publish the full text of the agreed letter Gen. Mladic sent to Gen. Janvier, and also the draft agreement between the two generals.

We carry Gen. Mladic's letter, and the agreement, in their entirety. The letter reads:

1. The Serb Republic Army will not engage in any combat operations or threats of attacks against Sarajevo, Bihac, Tuzla, or Gorazde, except in self-defense. These guarantees cease at the moment of attack by the other side.

2. In principle I agree that heavy weapons of all sides in the conflict can be withdrawn from the Sarajevo protected zone, under conditions to be agreed by the warring sides. Implementation and verification of this withdrawal must be agreed between the warring sides, and will be completed in line with provisions of the agreement, which will be signed by the sides in conflict.

I agree that the measures undertaken should guarantee equal treatment and safety of civilians on all sides in the Sarajevo zone, and that the withdrawal will not give advantage to any side, nor disrupt the balance of power.

3. I demand an immediate and complete cessation of hostilities throughout former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

4. I expect you to organize a meeting between the commanders of the warring sides, at which all provisions of the agreement will be defined. In the meantime, the

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Serb Republic Army will guarantee freedom of movement for UNPROFOR and international humanitarian organizations, under already agreed and usual procedures, using the road from Kiseljak via Ilidza toward Sarajevo, and vice versa.

At the forthcoming meeting of the commanders of the warring sides, all hitherto signed agreements referring to the Sarajevo region, including the agreement on the use of Sarajevo airport, will be reviewed and, where necessary, revised.

5. I demand that you immediately stop NATO Air Force and Rapid Reaction Force activity on the territory of the Serb Republic.

The following is the text of the draft agreement on solving the crisis which, according to the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army, the two commanders agreed on during their meeting in Mali Zvornik, but which Janvier later refused to sign:

1. NATO and the Rapid Reaction Force will immediately cease all combat activities in the territory of the Serb Republic.

2. UNPROFOR commanders from Zagreb and Sarajevo will organize a meeting between the warring sides in order to:

a. Reach agreement on cessation of hostilities;

b. Reach agreement on regulating mutual obligations stemming from the status of the safety zones and the protection of civilian population in line with the Geneva conventions from 1949; and

c. Reach agreement between the warring sides on heavy weapons in the Sarajevo region.

3. Until the start of peace negotiations, the Serb Republic Army will not carry out combat activities against Sarajevo, Bihac, Tuzla, and Gorazde, except in the case of self-defense.

4. The investigation into the [28 August, Sarajevo] incident at Markale should be completed with the participation of ballistic military experts from UN Security Council member countries and the sides in conflict.

5. This agreement comes into effect at the moment of signing.

Accuses Janvier of Reneging

LD0409212395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2008 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 4 Sep (SRNA)—Colonel General Ratko Mladic, the commander of the General Staff of the Army of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, today warned General Bernard Janvier, commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] for former Yugoslavia, that by rejecting his letter General Janvier had indicated that he did not want any normalization of the situation, and that he "was creating conditions for an additional media campaign against and pressures on the Serb nation and the Serb Republic."

"Unable to reply in the usual way because of the conditions you have set, and in the light of the fact that you have broken our agreement by revealing the content of my letter that you accepted in full during our meeting in Zvornik on 1 and 2 September 1995, I am forced to reply to you in public," General Mladic says in his letter to General Janvier.

Mladic finds the explanation for Janvier's conduct "in the fact that the Serb nation continued to be kept in total isolation, and that the public is being offered a distorted picture that is the grist to the mill of Serb enemies and their mentors."

"By your conduct you have prevented our representatives from taking an active part in the peace process, while at the same time, you are trying to create an excuse to justify the brutal aggression by NATO and the forces under your command against the Serb Republic."

"Why have not you told the public the real truth about the "Markale 2" events [Sarajevo market bombing] of 28 August 1995, and also about the content of my two telephone conversations with General Rupert Smith concerning the incident," General Mladic asks, and continues:

"Why was no mixed commission sent to investigate the incident, as agreed by General Smith and me?"

"Why do you not tell the public that the targets of yours and NATO forces were in some cases at a distance of tens and in some of over 100 kilometers from Sarajevo and that you indiscriminately pounded stables, residential areas, scientific and health institutions, schools, churches, storage depots, and military facilities?"

Mladic goes on to say that under UN Security Council resolution, the Rapid Reaction Forces' mandate is to protect UNPROFOR from possible attacks, and that they are not meant to destroy infrastructure, civilian targets, and military facilities of one side in the conflict.

Furthermore, General Mladic stresses, "NATO Air Force does not have the mandate to act against stationary targets and military facilities that do not threaten 'safe areas' and especially if they are deep in the Serb territory, nor does it have the right to take revenge and destroy the infrastructure, industrial, and military potential belonging to one side in the conflict."

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Mladic recalls that 17 Muslim brigades, three Croat brigades, and 6 independent battalions, with the force equivalent to 35,000 soldiers, are stationed around the Sarajevo "safe area" and Serb Sarajevo. He stresses that it is absurd that 25,000 armed Muslim soldiers and 342 pieces of heavy artillery are protected in the Sarajevo safe area.

Furthermore, General Mladic adds, "you protected the 81st Muslim Division, with the equivalent of 10,000 armed soldiers, and 63 pieces of heavy weapons in the Gorazde safe area."

"I remind you that in August 1993 we entrusted to UNPROFOR Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica, which should have been demilitarized, and likewise the Republic of Serb Krajina handed over its weapons to UNPROFOR."

"I do not need to remind you of the tragic consequences of both these events," General Mladic concludes.

"Finally, I want to inform you that according to the Serb Republic Constitution, no one has the right to make a decision on the withdrawal from Serb territory, surrender, or on surrendering parts of the Serb territory. Only the Serb People's Assembly, on the basis of people's will expressed in a referendum, can make a decision that will deprive 120,000 citizens of Serb Sarajevo of the right to self-defense."

"I propose to you to replace ultimatums with talks and bombings with agreements that will ensure the equal treatment and guarantees for the Serb and Muslim people in Sarajevo."

"In full realization of the seriousness of this moment, I propose to you to urgently convene a meeting between the commanders of the warring sides with the aim of signing an agreement on a complete, lasting, and unconditional cessation of hostilities in former Bosnia-Herzegovina," General Mladic told General Janvier, informing him that until the meeting, he declared a unilateral cessation of hostilities in the Sarajevo area.

Silajdzic Urges NATO Response to Serb Inaction

LD0409232495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Asked to comment on the detonations heard around Pale and Vogosca immediately after the expiry of NATO's ultimatum, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said in a statement for BH PRESS tonight that this was most probably due to the breaking of the sound barrier by NATO aircraft over Pale. In Vogosca, the sounds were most probably antiaircraft fire. Therefore, NATO has not yet reacted, Premier Silajdzic said, and added that it is a fact that Karadzic's Serbs have not responded to NATO's demands and have not rolled back their heavy guns from around Sarajevo.

It is now up to NATO to keep its promise, Premier Silajdzic said.

Akashi: Serb Efforts 'Limited'

AU0509074095 Paris AFP in English 0721 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 5 (AFP)—The United Nations said Tuesday [5 September] that Serb forces round Sarajevo appeared to be making a "limited" effort to remove their heavy weapons threatening the city.

UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi said UN forces had observed a "limited movement" of vehicles and artillery though he said only a "substantial" withdrawal would avert a resumption of NATO air strikes on Serb positions.

"Since yesterday afternoon, we have observed a limited movement of vehicles," Akashi told a press briefing Tuesday.

UN and NATO commanders "are assessing the situation this morning," he said but "because of the unclement weather over Sarajevo, we have some difficulties in reaching a conclusive assessment".

He said he could "not make any prediction" as to whether the apparent withdrawal of Serb heavy artillery from the 20 kilometre (12 mile) exclusion zone round the Bosnian capital would be enough to lift the threat of renewed air strikes.

"We need evidence of substantial movement, if not completion, of the withdrawal of all heavy weapons from the exclusion zone. If there is no such substantial movement, the conclusion will be obvious," he said.

Pressed to say how many weapons the Serbs would have to pull out to comply with NATO and UN requirements, Akashi declined to be specific. "I cannot give you figures. Quantitative and qualitative measurement will have to be made.... What is important is a positive and substantial movement towards total withdrawal."

Earlier in Naples, a NATO spokesman said early Tuesday that no decision had been made as to whether Bosnian Serbs had met allied demands for the removal of heavy weapons from around Sarajevo by the Monday night deadline.

"NATO and UN commanders are assessing the current situation and considering the options available," Major Takis Theodorakidis said at 3:30 a.m. (0130 GMT).

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"There have been no NATO air strike missions so far today."

There had been reports of loud explosions and flashes near Sarajevo shortly after 11 p.m. (2100 GMT) Monday, the deadline for Serb compliance with NATO and United Nations demands for the removal of the heavy weapons.

NATO Renews Air Strikes

AU0509121795 Paris AFP in English 1206 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 5 (AFP)—NATO planes launched new airstrikes against Bosnian Serb positions Tuesday [5 September] after the Serbs failed to comply with UN demands to withdraw their heavy weapons from the Sarajevo area, UN and NATO officials said.

Two mushroom clouds, one black, one white were seen in the area of the Bosnian Serb barracks at Lukavica to the south of the city soon after an aircraft flew over, witnesses said at approximately 1:15 p.m. (1115 GMT).

A UN official could give no further details but said he thought the strike was against Lukavica where the Bosnian Serbs had been collecting heavy weapons on Monday evening.

UN officials said Tuesday that the Bosnian Serbs had made only a limited effort to comply with a demand from the UN commander General Bernard Janvier to withdraw weapons from a 20-kilometer (12 mile) exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

In Brussels, a NATO spokesman said NATO launched new airstrikes against Bosnian Serb positions Tuesday after the Serbs failed to comply with UN demands that they pull out their heavy weapons by a deadline which expired at 2100 GMT Monday, NATO said.

The NATO spokesman did not say exactly where the new raids were taking place.

In Paris, French President Jacques Chirac confirmed the resumption of the airstrikes and said the mainly Franco-British Rapid Reaction Force on the ground on Mount Igman overlooking Sarajevo had fired artillery at Bosnian Serb positions.

"There was no real withdrawal of Serb weapons. That is why NATO and the rapid reaction force resumed their bombings as of 13H00 (1:00 p.m., 1100 GMT)," Chirac said in an interview on French television.

Bosnian Serbs Release Detained EU Observers

LD0309091995 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 0900 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We now have a report which has just reached us from the EFE agency which says the following:

The five UN [as heard] monitors held by the Bosnian Serb forces have now been released, the Diplomatic Information Office [of the Spanish Foreign Ministry] has said.

The five, three Spaniards, an Irishman, and a Dutchman, are in perfect health and have been received by a Spanish diplomat on the border near Visegrad, so Jesus Atienza, the spokesman of the Diplomatic Information Office, has said.

Part of Mladic-Janvier Deal

LD0309115195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1122 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—The authorities of the Serb Republic today allowed the five EU military observers and their driver and translator to leave the Serb Republic and join their commands via the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, TANJUG has learned from sources close to the Bosnian Serb Government.

According to the same source, that move of the Serb side is the result of an agreement between General Ratko Mladic, the commander of the main headquarters of the Serb Republic Army, and General Bernard Janvier, the UN commander for the former Yugoslavia, reached during the talks between the two generals on the night of 1 September in Zvornik.

It is specified that this agreement refers to the freedom of movement of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members and international humanitarian organizations in the Serb Republic territory.

The Foreign Ministry of Spain, which currently holds the presidency of the EU, today confirmed the news about the departure of the five observers from the Serb Republic.

Serbs Expelled 17,248 From Banja Luka in Aug

AU0409090195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, after a three-day break, Davor is again organizing for the reception of a new group of refugees [word indistinct] and other non-Serb population from the regions of Banja Luka and [word

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indistinct] western Bosnia, that Karadzic's Serbs, as well as refugees from Glamoc, Drvar, and Knin Krajina have been forcefully expelling from their homes for a month already.

According to announcements by Karadzic's Serbs, a group of 1,128 refugees which includes (?240) Bosniaks should arrive from Srbac across the Sava today.

Within the last month, Karadzic's Serbs have forcefully expelled a total of 17,248 persons from the regions of Banja Luka and northwestern Bosnia. Some of those people were accepted by relatives and friends, some left for other countries under the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] auspices, while the majority were accommodated in temporary reception centers in Croatia and Glamoc in the organization of the Office for [word indistinct] and refugees of the Government of Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Abdic Attempts To Cause Rift With Croatia

LD0209213295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] War criminal Fikret Abdic, under house arrest in Zagreb's Palace Hotel, is spreading very dangerous lies in his attempt to cause a rift between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Local authorities in the Una-Sana canton have proof of this. Nada Al-Issa reports.

[Al-Issa] Fikret Abdic is a war criminal, and every day he works hard to increase his crimes. Now he wants to resettle the unfortunate people who fled [Velika] Kladusa and who are stranded near Vojnic, in third countries. Luckily, no one wants them. Only Bosnia wants them.

Fikret Abdic's followers have spread three very dangerous lies among Kladusa refugees: They will be settled in Spain, Italy, Germany or Austria; he will allegedly soon meet Tudjman and Milosevic in Geneva to arrange the resettlement with them. The third lie is the most dangerous: The Una-Sana canton will come under the administration of the Republic of Croatia, and all the refugees will, as he says, then be able to go home. [passage omitted]

Abdic foolishly speaks about some kind of Croatian administration of part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. First, the 5th Corps, which is part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, would never allow this. Furthermore, it has always been officially stressed that the Republic of Croatia has no territorial pretensions on Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is why Fikret Abdic is dangerous for both Croatia and Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Reportedly Wants Political Asylum

AU0409165295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 95

[Report by Nada al-Issa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] Some 2,000 people have recently returned to the Cazin Municipality. They are also returning to Velika Kladusa, Skokovi, Pecigrad, and Trzacka Rastela; they are all returning to their homes. The local authorities in the Una-Sana Canton have secured for everyone all things necessary for return: food, drink, and items for personal hygiene until they settle in.

When he heard about the return to the Cazin Krajina, war criminal Fikret Abdic was seized by panic in the Zagreb Palace Hotel where he is under house arrest, so he did everything to slow down their return. Using his intermediaries, he founded some sort of refugee coordination committee, which submitted to the Croatian authorities a request asking for political asylum for all of them. This was confirmed by Deputy Prime Minister Ivica Kostovic who, however, clearly said: There is no way that Abdic's refugees can be granted political asylum in the Republic of Croatia because there are absolutely no grounds for that. We need to remember that they voluntarily left Bosnia, no one expelled them. That is why now nobody wants them; neither the Republic of Croatia nor any third country. Everyone knows that they can return to their homes, that the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities and the local authorities in the Una-Sana Canton will guarantee their safety. If they do not wish to return, it is their own fault and they will continue to suffer needlessly.

Croatia Refuses To Extradite

LD0309130095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1234 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 3 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Croatia has refused the demand of the Sarajevo Muslim government for the extradition of west Bosnia Muslim leader, Fikret Abdic, Muslim radio Sarajevo correspondent reported from Zagreb.

Abdic is staying with his family at the Zagreb Palace Hotel, and his extradition was demanded by the Sarajevo Muslim authorities charging him with armed rebellion, treason, and war crimes.

Abdic, who declared in 1993 the autonomy of west Bosnia from the Sarajevo Muslim authorities and who is opposed to the fundamentalist policy of Alija Izetbegovic, took refuge in Croatia at the beginning of August, ahead of the an offensive of Izetgebovic's army,

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together with his family and several tens of thousands of Muslims from west Bosnia.

Croatian radio said that in Vojnic, a city occupied by Croatia during the recent aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina, there are around 25,000 Muslim refugees, supporters of Fikret Abdic, who refuse to return to west Bosnia fearing the reign of terror of the Muslim Army 5th Corps.

The correspondent of Sarajevo Muslim radio claims that the official position of the Government of the Republic of Croatia is that it cannot receive those Muslim refugees, and there is no other country ready to accept them.

In an interview with the Croatian paper SLOBODNA DALMACIJA from Split published on Friday, Abdic said that Muslim refugees from west Bosnia "would rather lie down in front of Croatian tanks than return under the authority of the Sarajevo regime."

Serb Radical Expects 'Forced Pacification'

AU0509121695 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 26-27 Aug 95 pp 2-3

[Interview with Nikola Poplasen, vice president of the Central Fatherland Administration of the Serbian Radical Party of Serb Lands, by Andjelko Anusic; place and date not given: "Special War of Red Dedinje"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Anusic] Mr. Poplasen, we must begin this interview with the fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina, which is viewed in patriotic circles as the greatest Serbian defeat since the Battle of Kosovo [1389]. Some people claim that this defeat is even greater. What do you think?

[Poplasen] The fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina indeed represents the possible prelude to the defeat of Serbianhood and Serbs in general. The Serbian Radical Party has never claimed that the Serbian people are moving inexorably and without hindrance toward a victory in the sense of creating a single Serbian state. We can understand why a number of countries in the world who have their own interests in this region have opposed the Serbs' accomplishing their aims, and why the Croats have organized themselves in one neofascist state. However, one thing that we thought would never happen, that we never expected to happen are serious inter-Serb conflicts. We had hoped that the bulk of the Serb people and the representatives of certain sections of these people would remain united in the pursuit of their goals.

What happened, however, is that the Serbs more or less unexpectedly lost the Republic of Serb Krajina after more than 500 years of living in a region from which no one had been able to move the population from their centuries-old homes.

This course implies that the forces that took care of that, and their instruments in Dedinje [fashionable Belgrade district in which many prominent politicians live], those who have been working for these forces, could contribute to the fall of the Serb Republic as a whole, and then immediately after that cause a conflict within Serbia itself in the form of a Croat-Hungarian rebellion, a rebellion of Albanians in southern Serbia, and the secession of Montenegro under the probable patronage of great powers, above all Italy. [passage omitted]

Red Ghosts From Dedinje

[Anusic] What we are currently witnessing in Belgrade and Podgorica is the Pilate-like washing of one's hands of the fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina. Some Krajina leaders are increasingly exchanging recriminations. Accusations are also being levied against the state and political leadership of the Serb Republic. Who is the culprit, or who are the culprits? Can they all be found at one address?

[Poplasen] The blame for the fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina, and for the defeats on the ground in the Serb Republic, above all Kupres, Grahovo, Glamoc, Drvar, and some other territories, cannot be ascribed to a single person or even several persons. One should first of all mention the fact that for over 50 years the Serbs were brainwashed with the militant ideology of brotherhood and unity, which has completely emptied them of any national feelings. National feelings were treated as something retrograde, primitive, and ugly. Of course, the logic of events imposes the conclusion that the most powerful are the most responsible. In this sense, one should bear in mind the fact that Dedinje, red Dedinje, remains most powerful, especially the man at the top in the Republic of Serbia.

We must bear in mind that 90 percent of the state and political leadership of the Republic of Serb Krajina was directly installed by Belgrade, either by appointment or by various manipulations, and that all these people, who acted according to Belgrade's instructions, are now being blamed for the fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina. We are, in fact, talking about a policy conducted by Belgrade, a policy without any concept. This was an incoherent, inconsistent policy that made a 180-degree turn at the beginning of 1993, a policy that today presents itself as the ultimate in Serb policy in the history of Serb people.

I think that one could express more competent views about Slobodan Milosevic's policy at a roundtable

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attended by a number of competent psychiatrists. At this moment we are particularly burdened by the fact that a significant number of people from the Republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb Republic are spellbound by Milosevic, and they naively think that some more important, and for us, invisible moves are being made in the background, and that these will lead to final victory.

In this connection, one should say that none of the main proposals made by western Serbs have been accepted by Dedinje, neither unification nor some milder form of association. What is more, Dedinje had demanded such acrobatic changes in policy in that region that none of the more responsible politicians would be prepared to accept them. Of course, one cannot skip the responsibility of the state, political, and military leadership in the western Serb lands. I must say that the Serbian Radical Party warned three years ago that the condition for our survival is the full unification of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina and the democratization of social and political life. [passage omitted]

Forced Pacification

[Anusic] We now have a new peace plan for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina that is said to be an American plan, although Russian diplomatic circles claim that it is the product of Russian mediators and the Contact Group. What is the truth about this, and, in your view, what are the chances of the upcoming round of peace talks?

[Poplasen] The new peace plan has not been made available to the public at large, and, therefore, it would inappropriate or irresponsible to judge it until it appears in some kind of official form. However, the main contours have been more or less presented to the public by the representatives of different countries. What one can say about the peace plan is that there is no unanimity. In my view, the presentation of the plan has been blocked by the failure to satisfy, above all, Islamic interests.

The representative of another state, which is east of the Drina River, is prepared to sign, albeit, completely illegitimately, the conditions that the plans is offering to western Serbs. Therefore, we will be pacified whether we like it or not.

In fact, we are now in a situation in which the Serb Republic's leaders, whether they want to or not, cannot betray their people regarding this peace plan, as one hardly asks them anything anymore. [passage omitted]

Final peace can only be achieved by not meeting the fictional interests of a fictional nation, a nation that does not exist, the Muslims, and by arranging talks between the authentic representatives of the Serb and Croat people. Everything else represents a temporary solution. It is possible that the situation will be pacified, but it would last only until the next round of explosions, and the next round of slaughter. This will lead us into a situation in which we will be producing arms for our younger brothers and our children to wage wars ahead of us. [passage omitted]

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Granic Views Situation, U.S. Initiative

AU0109171695 Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 28 Aug 95 pp 13-14

[Interview with Foreign Minister Mate Granic by "M.B."; place and date not given: "'Storm' Has Brought Stability to the Region"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Minister Granic can hardly hold back his joy because of the new political reality created by the Croatian military and police forces reaching the international borders of Croatia in the former northern and southern sectors. The territory has been recaptured and no economic sanctions have been imposed on Croatia; we do not have to "eat roots," as some high officials of the ruling party expected until recently. On the contrary, only now, after the action, Croatia has become a true partner of the Americans, someone they can rely on in their policy; apart from that, it has changed completely not only its own position, but the situation in the entire region. Therefore, in future, Granic will not have to pressure the officials of great powers or listen to their make-believe friendly explanations that Greater Serbia is a necessity and that there is nothing that can be done against that, particularly not militarily, but that one has to negotiate with them endlessly. Granic negotiated persistently, he supported nearly every peace plan, because of which he got on many people's nerves, and he constantly supported the thesis that military action could be started only if it could be defended diplomatically before the UN Security Council. Otherwise, in the long run, regardless of the military strength, we would lose because Europe would isolate us, set their border on the Sutla River, and push us into the Balkans. Now, when the opportunity has been used in the best possible way, we talked with the minister about the new situation into which the whole territory of former Yugoslavia has entered.

[HRVATSKI OBZOR] How do you evaluate the international political position of Croatia, or, what changed after "Operation Storm"?

[Granic] Today, Croatia is the main factor of stability in the region, and the new peace efforts rely on it. After "Storm," the Americans started their peace initiative, practically relying on the new geostrategic situation created by the successful completion of the operation by our military and police forces. "Storm" has created greater chances for a realistic permanent solution for the whole region. As for Croatia, chances have opened up for the issue of the remaining part of the occupied territory to be solved peacefully; for Bosnia-Herzegovina, that means a further consolidation of the federation and the finding of a permanent and stable solution for that region.

[HRVATSKI OBZOR] How do you interpret the Russian initiative after "Storm." First, the invitation to Tudjman to visit Moscow, and then the arrival of envoy Zotov in Zagreb?

[Granic] That means that Russia is very interested in being present in the region, and that it clearly sees the role and the significance of Croatia for the accomplishment of peace. We want the entire region to be stable, and we are prepared, after a peace agreement is signed, to negotiate on mechanisms of regional security. And that, apart from the normalization of relations with all neighboring states, includes the accepting of mechanisms of regional security within the European pact on stability and security. But, of course, the attempts to find an all-encompassing solution that would encompass both Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina occupy first place.

[HRVATSKI OBZOR] Can it finally be said that the idea embraced by certain circles to make Serbia the policeman of the Balkans has been defeated?

[Granic] I believe that the idea of making the Serbs the policemen will no longer appear. By the successful completion of "Storm," the balance of power has been established, and all important international factors have realized that. Croatia has shown that it has a strong, well-organized, and disciplined army and also that it has a leadership that was able to find the right moment for military action. Therefore, peace can no longer be achieved without acknowledging that factor.

[HRVATSKI OBZOR] What is the Croatian viewpoint on the U.S. initiative?

[Granic] The U.S. initiative consists of several elements that are being negotiated. What is essential for the Republic of Croatia in this initiative is its recognition within the internationally recognized borders and the peaceful reintegration of the remaining occupied territory, and, as a reward for the entire region, if this initiative is realized, significant economic help has been promised. We have agreed with the creators of that initiative that other elements should not be made public. After the first round of talks, however, the Americans will reconsider all elements of that initiative, so it is still not possible to know what their final proposal will be. Because, in the talks in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo, everybody expressed their own opinion and made new suggestions. This is a negotiating process and, at this moment, it is hard to predict its outcome. That means that we will not accept anything that does not guarantee the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia, its

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recognition within the internationally recognized borders, and an expedited reintegration of the remaining occupied territory. We will also commit ourselves, as a part of the global negotiating process, to finding a permanent, stable solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina, within which our relations with the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be based on the Washington Agreements and the Split Declaration.

[HRVATSKI OBZOR] There are already some opinions that, under the new circumstances, a half of Bosnia, namely 49 percent, is too much for the Bosnian Serbs?

[Granic] I would not talk about the division of the territory, because the Americans have not shown us any maps, nor has there been any talk about that.

[HRVATSKI OBZOR] One commentator wrote that the abeyance of the Croatian offensive near Drvar and Trebinje is directly related to the U.S. initiative?

[Granic] Croatia has indeed shown some restraint during the negotiating process, but I also have to add that that does not mean we will be less cautious or that we will allow the aggressor to continue with the aggression. All Croatia did in the hinterland of Dubrovnik was respond militarily to the provocations; in the same way, the sole purpose of the expanding of our activities on the Grahovo-Glamoc front was to stabilize the front line after the attack of the Bosnian Serbs. Recently, President Tudjman clearly told Russian envoy Zotov that Croatia will be patient as long as the negotiating process goes on, but that it will not allow its vital interests to be endangered for one moment, particularly regarding its occupied territories.

[HRVATSKI OBZOR] There are opinions, particularly in Russia, that the war in this region will end in a few months?

[Granic] In comparison to the previous ones, this negotiating process is, maybe, on the highest level, and more has been invested into it. Of course, it also has important repercussions on the situation in the United States, on the relations between the U.S. Government and the Senate and Congress, just like in Russia, and on the elections in both countries. In the same way, the outcome of that process will influence the relations in the European Union and their mutual relations. So, the investments are very great, but, on the other hand, our experience so far warns us to be careful. Therefore, Croatia will participate actively in the negotiating process, but it will not relax for one moment.

[HRVATSKI OBZOR] You have always believed Croatia should enter European institutions. What are the prospects now?

[Granic] I believe that the signing of the agreements on trade and cooperation with the European Union and the implementation of the agreement on the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program will, for a certain period, remain "frozen," until we see what happens with the negotiating process and until we dispose of the new, often tendentious, pressures regarding the rights of minorities. As for the Council of Europe, up to now, the signals have been positive. It must be said, however, that Croatia could no longer live with a rope around its neck. In terms of traffic, it was completely cut, one drunken Chetnik was able to completely ruin the tourist season and, at the same time, we had constant threats not to start any military action. So we constantly had the sword of Damocles hanging over our heads. "Storm" has created a new situation and others will recognize that. Once Croatia controls its entire border, as a legal and democratic state, Europe will be very interested in it, and there will be no problems about entering most European institutions. So we should not be worried about the short delay, because there is a lot to gain.

Granic, Sacirbegovic Meet at Zagreb Airport

LD0209085795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mate Granic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia, has had talks at Zagreb airport with Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic before the departure of the Bosnian minister for an official visit to Paris. In a short statement the two ministers noted that the conversation was part of preparations by the two countries for the forthcoming meeting of the Croatian ministerial council for foreign affairs, the foreign ministers of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the so-called Yugoslavia and ministers of the Contact Group countries in Geneva. In addition, Granic and Sacirbegovic discussed issues relating to the settling of common borders in the area of Bihac and the problem of Muslim refugees from Velika Kladusa who are in Croatia.

Discuss Refugees, Borders

LD0209152495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The meeting between the foreign ministers of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the so-called Yugoslavia announced for next week in Geneva is just the first step towards a possible peace process, the foreign ministers of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dr. Mate Granic and Muhamed Sacirbegovic said after this morning's talks at Zagreb airport. Here is a report from Drazen Korda:

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[Korda] Minister Granic had talks with Muhamed Sacirbegovic before the Bosnian foreign minister's departure for an official visit to Paris. In a statement to journalists both ministers expressed satisfaction with the latest in a series of exchanges of views between the two states on the current peace process. It was also agreed that a joint commission of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina should start work on resolving border issues in the region of the airport near Bihac, and there was also discussion of fresh initiatives to resolve the problem of the return of Muslim refugees from Velika Kladusa and Cazin from Croatian territory to their homes.

On the forthcoming tripartite ministerial meeting in Geneva at the initiative of U.S. peace negotiator Holbrooke, ministers Sacirbegovic and Granic said:

[Begin recording] [Sacirbegovic] We consider that an exchange of information and ideas between our states is very important at the present time, and since Ambassador Holbrooke and his delegation have spent most time in Belgrade, this is probably because Belgrade and Pale were previously least ready for this peace process. On the other hand in the present situation they probably also had a greater opportunity for the exchange of thoughts and ideas and it is also necessary for us to have this opportunity, and at the level of an exchange of ideas between Dr. Granic and I [words indistinct]. However, this is only a position and it should not be expected that a peaceful agreement will be concluded as a result of this meeting.

[Granic] Certainly, this meeting inasmuch as is possible at the present time, will show what are the positions of the initiators of the peace initiative, in other words how many elements of a plan will emerge and what are the positions of all three sides, since Milosevic has taken over responsibility for the Bosnian Serbs as well.

I agree with Minister Sacirbegovic that this is only a first step, and that many more such meetings will be needed before a tripartite summit of the three presidents together with the presidents of the Contact Group countries. [end recording]

[Korda] Asked what he thought about the current cessation of NATO's air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs, Sacirbegovic said the pause was dangerous for the peace process because the Bosnian Serbs were continuing attacks on Sarajevo, thus showing that they are not yet ready for peace. If NATO and the United Nations do not fulfill their promise to protect the civilians in civilian zones, the Bosnian Army will continue the currently suspended offensive actions, Sacirbegovic added. [passage omitted]

Akashi Holds Talks With Serbs in Slavonia

AU0109193795 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 1 Sep 95

[Report by Djordje Gajdosevic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Yasushi Akashi, UN secretary general's special envoy for the former Yugoslavia, today visited Erdut, where he held fairly long talks with the representatives of Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem. He stressed that all the conditions have been created for the peace process that was agreed on in Zagreb on 29 March 1994 to be put into motion again, and for the soonest possible return of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] to their earlier positions.

[Begin Akashi recording in English fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] I cannot predict the behavior of any of the parties in this conflict. What I can say is that there is no direct danger of war breaking out. What we have managed to conclude on the basis of our observation is that there is no danger of resorting to the war option in the near future. This does not mean that any of the parties should remain in the positions that they are holding at present, but, on the contrary, they should do their utmost at establishing a lasting peace. [end recording]

As Mr. Akashi said, various delegations will visit Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem next week. Their aim will be to solidify peace in this region. A meeting between General Dusan Loncar and UNPROFOR commander Van der Wegh is planned for tomorrow.

A Serbian and a Croatian delegation will hold negotiations on Monday [4 September].

Serbs Endorse Akashi Plan

LD0109184595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Erdut, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi met representatives of the Serb authorities in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, led by Milan Milanovic, assistant defense minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], in Erdut today.

On this occasion, Akashi presented the Serb side with his proposal on the new peacekeeping mandate in Sector East. The Serb side accepted the proposal, Akashi told journalists.

Milanovic confirmed this, stressing that most important was that "the new manadte does not prejudge a political solution."

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Explaining his proposal, the UN special envoy said the new mandate envisaged that the cease-fire agreement signed in Zagreb on 29 March 1994, that is, the 2 December 1994 agreement on economic cooperation between the RSK and the Republic of Croatia, would come into force once again.

He underlined that the new mandate envisaged that "UN members will take over the control of internationally recognized borders and will set up nine border points; that is, they will monitor the border from ships and helicopters."

"I am very encouraged by the positive attitude of the Serb side. Now we shall have an urgent meeting with the other side, and then I shall propose to the secretary general to implement the new mandate as soon as possible," Akashi said.

Akashi added that he believed that the renewed implementation of the cease-fire agreement was a good foundation for a search for a lasting peace and that, judging by observations made by UN members, there is no danger that a war would erupt in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem at present.

He said the bombings of Serb positions in former Bosnia-Herzegovina was "an obligation to halt attacks on protected areas," stressing that "UN military commanders were not happy when they made the decision to use NATO air force."

Asked who decided on the strength of the air attacks, Akashi said "the targets were marked on the basis of consultations between UN and NATO generals."

"Following the London conference and a NATO council meeting, we had to follow instructions made and agreements reached at these meetings, as well as UN instructions," Akashi said, adding that he did not know about the number of Serb civilian casualties, but the United Nations would do "everything within its power to find out about the consequences of the bombings."

He expressed the hope that the American peace initiative would lead to a peace plan that would be signed by all parties in the conflict. "This peace process may be the last chance for a lasting peace, and all three sides in the conflict must be flexible," Akashi said.

HV Withdrawing Heavy Guns

AU0109163995 Paris AFP in English 1626 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 1 (AFP)—The Croatian Army [HV] Friday [1 September] began withdrawing heavy weapons from eastern Slavonia, in line with an accord aimed at reducing tension in the last Croatian region still held by separatist Serbs, the United Nations said Friday.

"It's reported that the HV is withdrawing heavy weapons from some areas of the confrontation line," UN military spokesman Major Don Roy said. He told reporters negotiations for the withdrawal of Serb heavy weapons were continuing.

The UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi Friday visited eastern Slavonia, the region eastern Croatia made famous by the destruction of the Croatian town of Vukovar in 1991, to discuss the application of the cease-fire accord signed last Saturday, and the UN's new mandate in Croatia.

Akashi Friday arrived in Erdut, eastern Slavonia, for talks with separatist Serb leaders, the official Serbian TANJUG news agency said. The UN envoy also met the eastern command of the UN contingents in eastern Slavonia.

During a meeting Tuesday, Croatian and separatist Serb leaders agreed to begin withdrawing heavy weapons. They are due to meet again Monday.

The UN hopes a lowering tension in the area will enable the fate of eastern Slavonia to be resolved through negotiation rather than force.

Eastern Slavonia is the last remaining part of Croatia under Serb control, following the Croatian Army's recapture of the Krajina region last month.

Croatian President Franjo Tudman has given the talks process three to four months in which to succeed in bringing the the oil-rich region back under his control. If there is no progress at the end of that time he will order its retaking by force, he said last month.

Croat, Serb Commanders Meet

LD0409165595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Major General Dusan Loncar, commander of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps of the Serb Krajina Army, and Major General Djuro Decak, commander of the Osijek operational area of the Croatian Army, met at the Servas-Nemetin border crossing today.

Neither the Slavonia-Baranja Corps commander nor the UN Sector East commander, who chaired the talks, had issued a statement for the public by this afternoon.

It was earlier announced that Loncar and Decak were due to discusses the 25 August cease-fire agreement, as well as possibilities for the two armies to withdraw from

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the line of separation, that is, for heavy weapons to be withdrawn 20 km from the line of separation.

Cease-Fire 'Holding Partially'

LD0409230995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2304 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vukovar, Sept 4 (TANJUG)—The cease-fire along the line of separation between forces of Serb Krajina and Croatia in Sector East is holding partially, the Serb Krajina Army said late on Monday.

Mortars are silent, but snipers are active, the Army said in a statement released after a meeting of the two sides' ranking officers.

The Serb Krajina army commander in eastern Slavonia, Gen. Dusan Loncar, and local Croatian army commander Gen. Djuro Decak met at the Savras-Nemetin border crossing to discuss observation of the Aug 25 cease-fire.

They established that UN peacekeepers had not taken over all observation posts in the zone of separation, as envisaged under the agreement.

This should be done by Sept 8, when generals Loncar and Decak are scheduled to meet again, the statement said.

Nonstop Provocations Reported

LD0309173495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1721 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vukovar, Sept. 3 (TANJUG)—Croatian snipers wounded over the past two days four Serb soldiers on the defense line in Baranja in the so-called Sector East of the UN protected area, the command of the Slavonia-Baranja corps of the Serb Army of Krajina said in Vukovar Sunday.

The statement said that, despite a cease-fire agreement that came into force on Aug. 26, the Croatian Army continued with non-stop provocations along the entire line of separation between Croatia and the Republic of Serb Krajina in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem. Krajina Serbs have accepted on Friday the latest proposal for a new mandate of UN forces in Sector East as drawn up by UN Special Envoy Yasushi Akashi.

Republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed in 1991 by Serbs on their historical and ethnic territory after Croatia seceded from the former Yugoslavia.

The Croatian Army in May this year overran western Slavonia, the so-called Sector West, and in August parts of Serb Krajina called Sector North and Sector South of the UN protected areas as well.

More than 250,000 Krajina Serbs sought refuge in the neighboring Bosnian Serb Republic and further on in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The provocations by the Croatian side warn of a possibility of broader action, said the statement.

Hungarians, Croats Denied Entry Into Slavonia

LD0409132195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Every contact has been lost with the ethnic Hungarians and Croats living in eastern Slavonia, a Hungarian radio correspondent reports from Belgrade. The Serbian authorities have not allowed Yugoslav citizens of Hungarian or Croatian origin to enter the areas under their control since last weekend. At the Batina, that is, Kiskoszeg, bridge on the Yugoslav border, Serbian special units are on duty and they turn back Vajdasagi [Vojvodina] Hungarians and Croats en route to Baranja.

Chiefs of General Staff Hold Talks on Situation

LD0109162295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a Ministry of Defense statement, official talks took place today between General Zvonimir Cervenko, Croatian Army Corps chief of the General Staff, and Major General Tihomir Blaskic, Croatian Defense Council [HVO] chief of the General Staff. Also present at the talks were General Rasim Delic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Army chief of the General Staff, and Major General Filipovic, chief of the Joint Staff of the Army of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO. The subject of the talks was the current situation after "Operation Storm" [in Krajina] and the realization of the Split Declaration.

Government Issues Decree on Serb Property

LD0109204095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 1 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 1 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Government has issued a decree on the takeover of property left behind by the Serbs who fled the Republic of Serb Krajina and other areas in Croatia.

The decree on the Temporary Takeover of Property of displaced Serbs will most probably be enacted into law at the September session of the Croatian parliament.

Property can be restored to Serbs under certain conditions: the Serbs have to return to Croatia and submit a

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restitution demand within 30 days of the enactment of the bill.

Assurances given by the Croatian Government about Serb property not being confiscated are totally unconvincing because the short deadline will practically make it impossible for the Serbs to file claims on their property.

Moreover, Croatian authorities maintain that only personal demands can be submitted and only by those who had previously acquired Croatian citizenship.

After the latest Croatian aggression on the northern and southern parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina, launched on August 4, more than 250,000 Serbs fled these areas.

The United Nations has confirmed that Croatian [word indistinct] killing remaining civilians and torching Serb houses so that the displaced Serb population has nowhere to return.

The Croatian Helsinki Committee said that 4,000 houses in the Knin area alone, that is 80 percent, had been burnt down.

The Croatian Government has announced that a bill may be passed stipulating that the state can grant or sell houses and flats of displaced Serbs to Croats. There are reports of Croats already moving into the Serb homes.

The Croatian Government believes that, in that, it will not only solve the problems of Croatian refugees but the demographic issues in "liberated territories" as well.

Government Temporarily Suspends Minorities Law

LD0409142695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 95

[Report by Jasenka Dudic from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] A Croatian Government session opened today, at which two important draft laws are being discussed. The government will put before the Assembly a census law, to be treated as a matter of urgency.

Under the law, the next census will be held between 1 and 15 April next year. It will be the first census in independent and sovereign Croatia, Deputy Prime Minister Bosiljko Misetic said. The last census was held in 1991, before the parliament's decision to break state and legal links with the other republics and provinces in what was then the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The results of the 1991 census no longer reflect the actual state of affairs in the country. Since the aggression against the Republic of Croatia, many citizens have fled, or have been expelled from the areas which were temporarily occupied to other areas in the Republic of Croatia, or abroad. After the Croatian Army's military operations, especially "Operation Storm," most of the occupied territories were returned to Croatia's legal system, but some citizens who lived in the occupied areas have left the Republic of Croatia.

This fact has certainly had a certain impact on the demographic structure, which no longer corresponds to the results of the 1991 census. The new situation requires a new census.

The government has drawn up a draft amendment to the Constitutional Law, providing for a temporary suspension of the implementation of certain provisions of the Constitutional Law on Human Rights and Freedoms and on the Rights of Ethnic and National Communities or Minorities.

Deputy Prime Minister Misetic said that following "Operation Storm," most Serb people have left the liberated areas, and the demographic structure there has changed. This is why it is impossible fully to implement the Constitutional Law. The temporary nonimplementation, until a census is held, does not mean that the national minority rights are being stifled; on the contrary, they are being upheld, Misetic said.

HSS Leader Criticizes Agricultural Policy

95BA0319C Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 95 pp 26-28

[Interview with Josip Pankretic, deputy of the Croatian Peasant Party, by Zelimir Zanko in Zagreb on 20 July: "The Peasants Are Still Living Under Socialism"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We talked with Josip Pankretic, the most popular HSS [Croatian Peasant Party] deputy, on Thursday afternoon immediately after the HSS delegation returned from talks with Prime Minister Nikica Valentic. The prime minister received the HSS delegation because of their demands related to the current (but also persistent) position of farmers, in connection with which the government had received a threat of a blockade of the roads and border checkpoints through which food is being imported into Croatia. Following the talk with Valentic, the HSS announced that the protest action headquarters is not being disbanded, but the blockade is being postponed until they see whether what was agreed upon is carried out.

[Zanko] On 11 July, the HSS sent the government a "Letter of Warning" in which, among other things, you demanded that the government adopt a decision guaranteeing the purchase of all surpluses of wheat for the market on family farms and that the government immediately prohibit the uncontrolled importation of

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agricultural products, fresh meat, and livestock. How did you arrive at those demands?

[Pankretic] The government had not taken a firm position that it would buy all the wheat that was available from the peasants. It said that it would purchase only from those who had obtained credit through the commodity reserves. That is why we had to send something of that kind to the government and organize a small warning strike. The occasion, then, was the wheat issue, but we also pointed out other problems. First of all, the uncontrolled importation of livestock and fresh meat. The result of this is that there was no longer any incentive to do anything in Croatia. That is, livestock is being transported in transit through Croatia for another state and then returned to our state, and the so-called levies are not being paid on that livestock, which otherwise would be 1 German mark [DM] per kilogram of live weight, and 7 kunas on meat, which is almost DM2. Often, that meat has not even crossed our border, but is only confirmed to have done so in documents. Thus, no domestic producer has an incentive to buy domestic livestock, because he makes far more with that meat, and the consumer has not felt anything. This has made it possible for many people to get rich overnight.

Our third demand had to do with Gospodarska Sloga (that the government withdraw its decision on collection of the turnover tax on products and services from Gospodarska Sloga beginning on 12 June 1995—HRVATSKI OBZOR editor's note), which had made it possible for the peasants to purchase production supplies without paying the tax. That is, now the peasants are paying the turnover tax, just as they did under socialism, so in that respect the peasants are still living under socialism. No one who registers a firm for the cost of eight spritzers pays the tax, but 340,000 peasants cannot register firms, so that mostly the poorest people have had to pay the tax. At this point, the government wanted to terminate the work of Gospodarska Sloga, and even to make Sloga make certain back payments.

[Zanko] What was the topic in the discussion with Prime Minister Valentic?

[Pankretic] We were received very hospitably, and the debate lasted nearly three hours. We came together and agreed on certain issues. Valentic was surprised about the issue of wheat, because allegedly from the first day they had said that all the wheat would be purchased from the peasants. It is hard to say whether he knew about that or made the decision now, but the promise has been made that all the wheat will be taken.

As for this uncontrolled importation of agricultural products, fresh meat, and livestock, we fully agreed, and they will take certain steps to prevent that. We were told that they would draw up a program in 10 days or so.

As for Gospodarska Sloga, it is my impression that it will continue to operate and that my peasants will be able to take advantage of it. It is not working only for the HSS, but for all the peasants. It is good that we had the talk with Valentic, and I believe that some good will come of it.

[Zanko] As for the uncontrolled importation of products, meat, and livestock you mentioned, Mr. Tomcic, president of the HSS, said that this concerned Herzegovina. The peasants there recently decided to block the borders because the export regime for their farm products going to Croatia had been changed. In this connection, Engineer Gazi, minister of agriculture, has said: "We will conduct an overall economic policy in the interest of Croatia and Herzegovina, but in fiscal and other measures we will be treating this as a unified economic area."

[Pankretic] I even told Valentic that all states that border on Croatia must be given the same treatment with respect to imports. If you exempt one state, treat it differently, and Bosnia-Herzegovina is also a state, then all the other states will send their goods through that one state. Merchants and smugglers quickly discover the best route. Likewise, it is well known that at present in Bosnia-Herzegovina they eat 15 times more meat per capita than in Croatia. That is, the meat has gone there and left. No one in Croatia, not even the HSS, nor I, is against what is produced in Bosnia-Herzegovina being exported to Croatia, because this does not represent very much. What is brought into Herzeg-Bosnia without exemption should not be imported into Croatia. Gazi was wrong in that statement, but I allow that he had something different in mind. We must know exactly what that state is producing if we want to have friendly relations with it, and we know that they are not even producing enough for themselves.

[Zanko] If there should be a protest action on your part, a blockade of the highways and the border, are you not afraid that the HSS would be accused, for example, of destroying Croatia?

[Pankretic] The party could not be accused because it would not be the party carrying out that strike. Those are peasants who are in the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] and in other parties, but most of them are not in any party. But it would be using this method of trying to protect their rights, and anyone would be mistaken to consider that a political act. When the peasants set out to fight for their rights, this means that the water

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has come up to their neck, and this is not a battle for political points, nor has our party been trying that. That is not the way to win political points.

[Zanko] The HSS called upon the government to organize the purchasing of peasant products through commodity reserves, to organize the sale of farm products at peasant fairs, and other measures that lead to a completely different treatment of the peasants in Croatian society.

[Pankretic] The present position of the peasants in Croatia is in urgent need of change. Today, the normal peasant is a producer who cannot go to the farmer's market with his product because it has been taken over by the smugglers and merchants. I can bring what I have to sell, but there is no place for me to set up, so that the merchants can buy from me far more cheaply and then resell it. An agreement will probably be reached this week with Mayor Miksa of Zagreb that every zupanija be given its space on the markets where it can market whatever products it brings. We have to make it possible for our people to come in and to compete with the merchants with their products.

We are also demanding rapid organization of the auction sale of agricultural products in which producers and merchants can compete. This is the only solution if the consumer is to get quality and inexpensive food.

[Zanko] You have often said that the problem of keeping young people down on the farm can be solved only by giving the older peasants a decent pension.

[Pankretic] I have just come back from a nine-day trip to France, where I visited French livestock-raising regions. At first, I had tears of joy, but in the end tears of grief, because I began to think that my Croatia could not achieve that in 100 years. Why am I not happy with the policy toward the Croatian peasant? First, we had large combines which are now government land. Everything that the peasant did on it was a failure, and the peasant hated the land. Then the law was passed for the state to sell the land. In the parliament, I was against that sale. I said that they are worse than the communists who took the land but did not sell it; these people now are selling it. Now, that land will in turn be purchased by the businessmen, taking 5, 10, and perhaps even 20 hectares. Once again there will be large combines, except those socialist combines were more reliable, because they could not fire anyone they pleased. France also had a great deal of land in probably the same way 70 years ago. It set up the peasants, giving each of them 60 hectares of land, for which they had to sell 200,000 liters of milk a year. Now, they can produce even more, but the state pays premiums only on those 200,000. We should do the same thing with the land on those state farms. We should use the young people leaving the cities to set up those farms, to give 50 jutros [one jutro = 5,754 square meters] of land to those who will engage in raising livestock, and with 30 dairy cows they will provide 200,000 liters of milk. Then, perhaps, in our country, in 10 or 15 years, we might have the same thing they have in France.

Those farms could also be formed on the land of the elderly peasants, who at some point will get those pensions, and many will certainly soon die. We should be looking to the modern world.

[Zanko] How is it that such initiatives cannot get through even in the parliament?

[Pankretic] I still think that various businessmen and smugglers are ruling the roost today, in part along with the government, in part with the government service, which is giving them that kind of advice. You cannot blame everything on the president of the republic, or on the prime minister, because the advisers are the main people. Reagan, a former actor, was the best president of the United States because he had good advisers, and in our country 70,000 members of the Communist Party crossed over to the party in power, and those were those communists who were fighting for power, not for communist policy. If tomorrow the Peasant Party took power, then they would join it. It is natural that they cannot do differently than the way they were trained for 40 years. When I entered the parliament in 1990, everything was going so well that I thought that in a year we would restore everything that had been taken in 1945. But when those "flexible people" joined the HDZ, the Law on Privatization was cast into the background, and now we have the third election coming up, and we still have not passed it. At the time of the first election, there was talk that we would return everything. The economy has been taken over by those who until then were deep into communism, and now they have taken up positions as advisers or other places of influence.

[Zanko] You were against distributing land to the displaced persons?

[Pankretic] We have to clear that up. In the parliament in 1992, I proposed that all our displaced persons be given 10 jutros of land gratis, and I was told that if we give them land, then they will not want to go back. I proposed that all those who had been in the HV [Croatian Army] should get a 60-percent discount on the land. But I was against the proposal of my colleague Kutla that displaced persons from other states should get land gratis. We cannot be second-class citizens. We have a market; whoever pays the highest price can buy land.

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[Zanko] You have said that you will not work with the HDZ before or after the election, and, at the same time, you have announced a possible coalition with the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party] and HNS [Croatian People's Party] and HKDU [Croatian Christian Democratic Union]. However, even in his recent statements, Mr. Canjuga is still making offers to the HSS.

[Pankretic] That is natural, they make offers, they talk, perhaps they hope to get some points by that. But they have nevertheless aimed the "gun" at us. The president of the state himself arranged a reception in the Presidential Palace, saying that 65 members of the HSS had crossed over to his party. Actually there were only 12 people, but only one of them had been still a HSS member. The others, among them Dr. Stojanovic, had been expelled long ago. His purpose was to humiliate us in this way, but at that point we began to think in somewhat broader terms. No one can "trample" us, but in a year or two, when he feels that he needs us, that we can help him, so that he can continue to rule with our help, then we will get along just fine.

As for elections, if the election law is left unchanged, I personally believe that we should go it alone on the state slate, because I feel that we will get so many votes that there will be no problem with the quota. In the election units, if they exist, we will enter into a coalition with opposition parties, but we will not establish ties with just one party.

[Zanko] What is your comment on Babic's HDSS [Croatian Democratic Peasants Party] joining the HDZ?

[Pankretic] He came from the HDZ in 1993, and Stojanovic accepted him into the HSS. He wanted to get him onto the Executive Committee, but I was against it, figuring that he had been sent by the HDZ to undermine our party. When Stojanovic left the HDZ, he was unable to create a party, or to find any party that would support him in the election. The only solution for him was to go where he came from with those few members, because they had to accept him, because he had been sent by them. Every little chick, when it gets lost, wanders until it gets cold, and then it flees to the mother hen.

[Zanko] What is the situation in the HSS? Are there factions and conflicts?

[Pankretic] The situation is very stable, and there are no factions.

[Zanko] What position will you take in the next parliamentary session during the debate on rebalancing the budget?

[Pankretic] I hear that the budget is "limping along" at 2.5 billion [currency not specified], but I think some things are not as they should be. When some government delegation goes abroad, a man does not have to take his entire family with him when the country is this poor. Perhaps 1 billion of those 2.5 in the rebalanced budget were made without real need.

[Zanko] What is your comment on the government's decree on solidarity saving?

[Pankretic] I agree with it, and I will vote for it, although it is going to affect me. But why should I get credit for one and a half shares when I save 1 kuna, while a worker who has bought shares normally gets 1 kuna's credit for 1 kuna?

[Zanko] Recently, an article in FERAL TRIBUNE was interpreted as an attack on you. You supposedly have gotten rich by trading in corn from state commodity reserves.

[Pankretic] Neither I nor anyone in my family has ever touched a kilogram in the commodity reserves. I have sued FERAL, and in the first court hearing they said that this did not apply to me. The court said that I must bring in five individuals to state that this did apply to me.

[Zanko] If the HSS were to share in the government after the next election, would you accept some high government post, for example, minister of agriculture, if it were offered to you?

[Pankretic] No, I think that we should involve trained young people. We have quite a few agronomists, Ph.D.'s, and others in the party, and they should be involved. I could at times perhaps offer advice. But the responsible posts should be given to able people, without looking to see what party they belong to. We have quite a few able people who are "wasting away" somewhere. Before they "wasted away" because they were not members of the Communist Party, and now they are wasting away because they do not belong to the HDZ.

[Zanko] But you will still run in the next election?

[Pankretic] I will run, and this will be my last campaign. I am a very happy man, both in my family and also because I have a good replacement. My younger son, an agricultural economist, has inherited quite a bit of the political bent from his father, and he is now president of the Assembly of the Zagreb Zupanija. I am glad that when I leave, the name Pankretic will nevertheless remain on the Croatian political scene.

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Martic Aide Says NATO Led Croatian Offensive

AU0209102095 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian Serb) in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 95 p 4

["Exclusive" interview with Slobodan Jarcevic, foreign affairs adviser in the cabinet of Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, by Cvijeta Arsenic; place and date not given: "Abandoned People Must Flee"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Arsenic] How do you now explain, from a distance, the almost unbelievable fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] in the matter of two and a half days?

[Jarcevic] Basically, Krajina fell for three reasons: The residents of Krajina had felt for some time that they were alone and without help. This was the first psychological moment, which the Croats were very well aware of and which they counted on. Everyone had been afraid of new attacks since 1 May 1995. The next reason is the fact that Krajina had simply been "feudalized," that is, broken up, the entire territory was divided in many parts that did not function in a coordinated way, militarily and politically. In addition, there was also a complex called 1941, when the people, as is the case today, found themselves unarmed and had to save themselves by fleeing. The next reason is NATO, which completely led and coordinated the entire Croat offensive by first destroying radar and antiaircraft batteries. What NATO did most for the Croatian Army was to jam communications between military commands and, in this way, silence radio stations and then use these same frequencies to tell the population of Knin and the surrounding area that the Croats were close, that they had started the slaughter, and that one should flee quickly. In their panic, the people started to flee toward the lines that the Krajina fighters had retained in the first Ustasha attack and had even pushed the Croats back. At that time the other side lost about 1,500 men....

[Arsenic] But the panic was obviously stronger?

[Jarcevic] Yes, despite the good performance of the RSK Army in the first attack, there was some confusion; the fighters started to leave the front under the influence of extensive disinformation in order to save their families. This is what resulted in the situation in which the army found itself behind the people.

[Arsenic] You are talking about a feeling of total confusion that had paralyzed fighters.

[Jarcevic] The kind of help that we expected never arrived, which is understandable if one knows that the Army of the RS [Serb Republic] was stretched on several fronts. On the intervention of the RS representatives, however, the confusion was lessened to some extent when the order was issued to build a temporary bridgehead near Dvor. This enabled people from Banija and Kordun to reach the RS. At the same time, the reinforced units on the Bihac front stopped the offensive by the Croats who intended to put a stop to the evacuation in that area.

[Arsenic] Are we talking about (someone's) treason, or does all this simply represent a military ineptitude and defeat that no one expected?

[Jarcevic] I personally do not have any official information regarding this. I do not think there has been enough time to establish whether anyone issued the withdrawal order. None of the commanders has, thus far, said that there was an order to withdraw. I can also tell you that our army was unprofessional to a large extent. The men looked more as some kind of town or village sentries, something the Croats certainly took into account.

[Arsenic] Can you compare the current situation with that immediately before the aggression. What would have happened if the Serbs had accepted the Z-4 plan? Would they still be in the places where, today, they are no longer present?

[Jarcevic] Even if the Z-4 plan had been accepted, the Croats would have carried out the aggression in the same way, as the plan did not envisage any rights for the Serbs in western Slavonia, Baranja, eastern Slavonia, and Srem, in the areas where the bulk of the RSK Serb population lived. This is why there was no sense in accepting it if it were to be applied in the areas in which Serbs were in a minority.

[Arsenic] Despite the fact the Croats have not been keen on any agreements since the beginning of the war, the RSK leadership met with the Croatian leadership on several occasions.

[Jarcevic] Yes, the Croats have never been in favor of any agreements. They responded to every signed document with aggression. We were supposed to sign an agreement in Obrovac in January 1993. They informed us that they could not come and, already on the next day, on 22 January, they occupied the area around Peruca, Ravni Kotari, and the Maslenica bridge. At their initiative and with the mediation of the Russian Federation, we again agreed to sign the Erdut Agreement in July 1993. Two days later, Franjo Tudjman said that he considered the agreement null and void and used force to erect a pontoon bridge on the Maslenica River. This was then followed by the signing of an agreement in Knin, initiated by Norwegian diplomat Knut Volebeck. On the same day, the Croatian Army attacked Divoselo

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and Pocitelj and burned another nine villages. We met once again, this time secretly, in Norway, with the same goal of establishing a lasting peace and cooperation. The night before the signing of the agreement, Tudjman sent a message prohibiting the signing.

[Arsenic] Nevertheless, after all this, you signed an agreement on the opening of the highway that led to the fall of western Slavonia. Why?

[Jarcevic] This was the stand of the political leadership. Beside, all this time, we were concerned about the tightening of the sanctions on Yugoslavia. We had no other choice.

[Arsenic] If eastern Slavonia is attacked, will the Army of Yugoslavia intervene?

[Jarcevic] If Croats were to attack this region, this would be insane, as they could lose everything they had conquered so far, because the greatest number of soldiers and the best arms are deployed in this region. The Croatian generals know that very well. The assumption is that they will not attack this area and that they will do everything to direct their military operations toward the Bosnian Krajina. This is the easiest option for them at present, because they can transport a lot of heavy weapons to the border and, using the same system of attack they used on Knin, start destroying villages in the Serb Republic. This is what they have been already doing; they have selected Drvar for that purpose. Regarding eastern Slavonia, the Croats will demand it and western Srem and Baranja at the negotiating table, since they will hold the trump cards. In other words, they will argue that the RSK no longer exists and that there is no justified reason not to treat this area as a part of Croatia. In doing so, they will have the absolute support of the international community, which will torment Yugoslavia for long time regarding the realization of Croatia's goals.

[Arsenic] Is the treatment of the refugees from the RSK in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the RS satisfactory, and are the rumors about the lack of any brotherly solidarity and a poor welcome true (and to what extent)?

[Jarcevic] I am simply left without any words to say. We have just received confirmation that the Croats were pouring fuel from aircraft in front and behind refugee columns and setting it alight. About 2,000 people thus found themselves in flames. Those who arrived in Serbia were accommodated wherever it was possible, as the circumstances in the country permitted. There are 1 million people unemployed in Yugoslavia; industry is not working. And yet the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] and the International Red Cross are extensively helping the Croatian refugees in Croatia. They will not give a single piece of aid to the RSK refugees. I do not think it is the right time to argue about who has given what. We should eliminate negative examples and rise above our conflicts, as our enemies are closely following what we are doing.

[Arsenic] Are you referring to the conflict and disagreements between the political and military leaderships in the RS?

[Jarcevic] Yes, I am referring to this conflict and the way it happened. We must present ourselves to the world in a different light. As I said, the enemy is watching us closely.

[Arsenic] Milan Martic has announced a guerrilla war. How realistic is this, and could this be carried out?

[Jarcevic] The conditions for the liberation of Krajina are not without chances. On the contrary, there are excellent conditions for this kind of struggle. The territory of the RSK is very large and, in order to protect themselves, the Croats must mount a force of at least 100,000 men who will have to be present on the borders all the time. If the Serbs join this guerrilla type of war in larger numbers, there is a chance of liberating the RSK, if, of course, the Croats do not manage to crush the other parts of the RSK. The survival of the RS will contribute significantly to this. Regarding Martic himself, he is Banja Luka. I have heard many rumors about him, but can deny one of them right away. His family was not evacuated by helicopter, as was suggested by some malicious people, but left in the first column of refugees from Knin.

[Arsenic] Can you explain the role of Mile Mrksic, commander of the Krajina Army, in the fall of Krajina, and his silence during and especially after the two-day fight.

[Jarcevic] I, personally, do not know him to judge the correctness of his military actions. My duties in the cabinet of the president were connected with foreign affairs. I did not have an insight into the work of the General Staff nor the Defense Ministry and could not judge his role, as I have already said. I know that he is in Banja Luka with a section of the RSK Army.

[Arsenic] Mr. Jarcevic, in your view, what is the meaning of the latest U.S. initiative? Does it represent yet another trap for the Serbs?

[Jarcevic] The goal of the U.S. initiative is to place the problems in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina at the focus of attention. This is yet another way by which they are buying time for the Croats in the negotiations. As I have already said, they have been using this in order to accuse

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the Krajina leadership of uncooperativeness as much as possible, while preparing for armed attacks. The West's initiative is not to put the occupation of Krajina again on the agenda, which means that the Croats will not be accused of this act. Nor will it protect the Serbs expelled from there in any way. The world powers have planned the "absorption" of the Krajina Serbs into the population of Serbia.

[Arsenic] Do the already arranged 40,000 visas for the Krajina Serbs to go Australia and New Zealand also represent a form of "absorption" and the exile of Serbs from their homes that was planned long time ago?

[Jarcevic] Yes. I am familiar with these facts because the Western countries will increase the number of people who want to immigrate. With this, they allegedly want to lessen the tensions among the refugees and local population. This will again represent yet another reason not to accuse Croatia of genocide.

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Government Denies Report on U.S. Team's Proposal

LD0409144295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1356 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 4 September (SRNA-BETA)—The office of Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov today denied a report released by MAKPRES news agency that representatives of a U.S. negotiating team which is currently holding negotiations [in former Yugoslavia] have come to Skopje with a proposal for establishing some new links between Macedonia and other states of the former Yugoslavia.

According to the agency, circles close to President Gligorov have said that recent talks with members of the U.S. negotiating team led by Assistant State Secretary Richard Holbrooke did not focus on new links to be established on the territory of former Yugoslavia, but only on the strengthening of the independent and sovereign Macedonia's position in the Balkans.

Article Criticizes Albanians' Plea to Clinton

AU0209150295 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 1 Sep 95 pp 10-12

[Article by Mirce Tomovski: "Big Dreamers and Tiny Politicians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The representatives of the political parties of the ethnic Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]—that is, the leaders of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], Abdurahman Aliti, the PDPA [Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians] Arben Xhaferi, and the NDP [People's Democratic Party] Ilijaz Halimi—have confronted U.S. President Bill Clinton with a historic political challenge: to solve the Albanian question in an integrated way. They have presented the following dramatic conclusion to the U.S. President as the strongest argument: Without an overall solution, there cannot be peace and enduring stability in this region. This concern of the three leaders and their concern about the future of the Balkans has a legitimacy that arises from their profession as politicians. It is precisely this sort of professional, however, who instigated one of the bloodiest and dirtiest wars in a part of the former Yugoslav territories. That is why their legitimate concern for Balkan peace must be accompanied by responsibility. Aliti, Xhaferi, and Halimi have sent a letter to the United States on behalf of the Albanians in Kosovo, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia. If they insist on the Piedmont of the Albanians, as it were, then this position of theirs is somewhat flawed. They have forgotten the Albanians from their fatherland, Albania, from Greece, and, why, even from Sicily in the Republic of Italy.

The formulas for a global solution of national questions have shown that the whole nation, right down to the last member of the nation that has begun to unite, must be encompassed. So, according to this stereotype, Albania exists wherever an Albanian lives. Of course, this thesis places territory right in the forefront. Without territory the formula "one nation one state" cannot be accomplished. The newly constituted all-Albanian leaders have probably assessed that what the Albanian nation suffered during the formation of its state at the beginning of the century can be corrected now at the end of the century. The background can be sought in the new-old U.S.-Russian secret agreements on spheres of influence. A part of this has leaked to the public, and it is the plan related to the Bosnian conflict and Serbo-Croat relations.

It is natural for those who have the same national roots and identity to aspire to live together. In this sense the national dreams of the Albanians are not heretical because of their national existence. However, there is an important distinction between a dreamer and a politician. The former is governed by illusions. The latter by reality. If we mix the models we get a dreaming politician, filled with delusions, and a dreamer who is creating policy, filled with raw pragmatics.

It is precisely with these three politicians that we have the two sorts mixed up to an absurd degree. The democratic and civilizational processes in Europe have transformed the dream about "nation above all" into a chronic bad dream. There is tension among the public not only when the idea of the state in its full size is raised, but also because national exaltations in the Balkans end in bloodshed. The latest massacre in Sarajevo market has once again paved the Serbian path of a "heavenly nation" to a national hell. The Albanians could also go through hell.

So, either because of membership in the European military alliance or the "Partnership for Peace," more than a year ago Albanian President Sali Berisha stated at NATO Headquarters that the "dream about Great Albania has been dreamt away." Last year, in an interview for PULS, Kosovo leader Ibrahim Rugova stated his view on the same subject: "The Albanians do not demand to be all in one state as the Serbs do. That would be a real problem." The Albanian Cosics [reference to prominent Serb writer]—Aliti, Zhaferri, and Halimi—the new "fathers of the nation," could at least demonstrate greater political sensitivity, knowledge, and intelligence in playing such a role. In carrying out such an operation, even if Clinton starts it, one cannot ig-

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nore reality: many nations in the world and in Europe are split up. There are 2,000 ethnic communities in the world. Hardly any of them are nationally compact. In Europe, the Hungarians are the most national tragedians, spread throughout Romania, Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Slovenia.... The underdeveloped European suburbs, the Balkans, live with the burden of the division of the Macedonian national entity, of the Serbian, the Greek... There is hardly a single national entity that is not affected. Uniting a divided national entity would, without exception, affect the integrity and sovereignty of another. The best example is Milosevic's and Tudjman's plan for solving the Serbian and the Croat national question. Although pursued with military means, it has not been accomplished at all. There is no other way, because if someone claims another's property and is not prepared to give up his own to complete the national home, it does not necessarily mean that it will be completed. At bottom, the reasons for the war in Bosnia are the same.

In February this year, at Columbia University in New York, there was a conference on the subject of the transformation of Albanian societies in Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro. Two positions appeared there. The U.S. analysts and experts, and even some representatives of the Albanians living in these regions, focused on the explosiveness of the Albanian national problem, but also the danger of an integrated solution. The representatives of Albanians living in Europe or in the diaspora, particularly in the United States, advocated the completion of the Albanian nation in one state. This discussion in the Institute for Eastern and Southeast Europe at Columbia University was, in a way, a typical example of the circumstances surrounding the national problem of the Albanians, the political euphoria and national romanticism.... However, it was also a typical example of their illusions and the consequences of gathering all Albanians into one state. In relation to Macedonian circumstances it meant ignoring the results of the latest, out-of-turn, census that was carried out at the request of European institutions; equating conditions in Macedonia with those in Kosovo, and Macedonian policy with Milosevic's rigid policy toward the Albanians; "anger" at the inadquate representation of Albanians in political institutions; the allegations about discrimination and the political inequality of the Albanians in Macedonia and changing the structure of the state.... In any case, it is part of a longer line that exists regarding the Albanian national question that is undoubtedly close to Aliti, Xhaferi, and Halimi.

On the other hand, all three of them were formed in the Macedonian political environment. Moreover, Xhaferi was a former Belgrade student and a professional with Kosovo experience. Their "correspondence" with Clinton is an example of the well-known diplomacy by correspondence of the ethnic Albanian leaders in Macedonia. In this sense the letter is a known constant and it should not upset anyone. They have the right to "complain" to Clinton about "Albanian suffering" in Macedonia, and even to present the situation of the Albanians in Macedonia in another way. In fact, it is their interpretation and their own experience of the Albanian reality in Macedonia. The big problem is in their political intention or ethics. In creating a problem regarding the existence of the state whose citizens they are, they are creating a problem regarding their own existence and the life of the ethnic Albanians in Macedonia. It is real political mockery to call Macedonia FYROM. At the same time, they claim that the "political parties of the Albanians in Macedonia are a factor of stability." These two things simply do not go hand in hand. FYROM is used in the terminology of Serbian or Greek policy, sometimes also of Bulgarian and Albanian, and even of some opposition parties in Macedonia of "original" Macedonian provenence. It is always an expression used for the negation of the state and its international affirmation, as well as of the consolidation of the democratic processes. This gesture has pushed Macedonia into the area where it is an undefined international lawful subject and into the political basket of the residue of former Yugoslavia. By insisting on FYROM, by equating "Macedonian unitarism" with the Serbian regime in Kosovo, they fall into their own trap. FYROM is one of the ways of keeping the "Macedonian case" open and introducing Macedonia into the abbreviated forms of Yugoslavia or in the Serbian region, what is the difference. At the same time, while tears are shed for the fate of and injustices done to the Albanian nation, the Macedonian nation is being denied. According to the political rhetorics of Aliti, Xhaferi, and Halimi, they are "Slav Macedonians," which is very close to Cosic's proposition about the "floating mass" or the Bulgarian one about the "artificially created nation."

On the other hand, there is a rich empiricism behind this diplomacy by correspondence. Part of Halimi's "historic mission" was his letter to the United Nations with a view to preventing the admission of the state in which he lives to that world organization. A former member of parliament, now a minister without portfolio, Muhamed Halili asked the same of the OSCE, in whose work he particpated as a member of the delegation of the Republic of Albania. Ismet Ramadani, a high official in the PDP leadership and coordinator of the parliamentary group, handed a letter to the president of the Assembly of the Council of Europe suggesting to that European association that it deny membership to

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Macedonia. Other figures have made equal efforts in advocating the same policy, particularly in the United States, through the lobbying diaspora. The former U.S. congressman Joseph Diogardi has made several trips to the west of Macedonia. During his last trip he even made a speech in the Tetovo village of Recica about the attempt to establish the so-called Tetovo university.... In any case, all this is somewhat tragicomic. The comedy lies in the big nonsense of redrawing the map of the Balkans. The tragedy is in the fact that these people declare themselves democrats and fighters for the national cause, but instead, by their actions, they push the ethnic Albanians into the danger of being used or involved in a conflict. Abdurahman Aliti's position is of particular interest, because his party is a coalition partner in the Macedonian Government. His example and attitude could easily be a candidate for Ripley's "Believe It or Not."

In the Macedonian pluralist environment the ethnic Albanians' political interests are articulated through several political parties. In this way the ethnic Albanians also participate in the political struggle for power. Nevertheless, instead of showing political maturity and emancipation in a civic sense, they are operating from nationalistic positions. This is what is disturbing as the background to the letter. Moral positions become an issue—the question of confidence, sincerity, lack of hypocrisy. On the other hand, radicalization of the domestic internal political situation is being introduced with a sound of a threat, the setting of conditions, announcements of conflict. This all looks like something we have already seen with other leaderships and populisms. It is here expressed in the manner of Albanianism, political primitivism, and the psychology of political inexperience. It speaks for itself about the image of the figures involved. However, its reflections could create very serious tensions in interethnic relations in Macedonia, for which an extremely high political price may have to be paid. It could exceed the sensitive limits of tolerance of the Macedonian majority, which bears most responsibility for the fate of the state and relations within it. In this sense, the tolerance of that majority has proved to be of great importance as a barrier against the aggressiveness and separatist tendencies of the ethnic Albanian political leaders. The challenges that may appear are dangerous. It seems that the old philosophers' ideas are appropriate here: "Your rights and interests should not encroach on the rights and interests of others."

Macedonia has moved irrevocably into the zone of independent states, with its own democratic identity and original model of multiethnic democracy. It has accomplished this without bloodshed and without historical agreements on either the Macedonian or the Albanian question. In this sense the letter and the proposition about an integrated solution for the Albanian national question are outdated. Macedonia has opted for a future as a democratic state and civic society. The elements of this lie in the rights of the ethnic minorities and in national equality and permanent dialogue and tolerance. The thin red line beyond which it is impossible to go is national integrity and sovereignty. It is untouchable. In order to arrive at the peak of Macedonian democracy in the suBtle sphere of national relations, such incidents—as the letter to Clinton—should be neither a political obstacle nor a political skating rink. The statement by Aliti, Zhafferi, and Halimi is a part of their biography and bibliography. Nobody, including them, has the right to speak in the name of the Albanian nationality in Macedonia and to determine its destiny.

[Box, p 11]

Letter From PDP, PDPA, and NDP to U.S. President Bill Clinton

Tetovo, 24 August

Your Excellency,

Regarding your initiative for an overall solution of the crisis in former Yugoslavia, the Albanian political parties represented in the parliament of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, address you with the following:

Unfortunately, in spite of the international community's engagement for the solution of the crisis in former Yugsolavia over the past four years, the situation has deteriorated and there are real possibilities that the conflict will expand, which could affect the whole of the Balkans and the world at large.

The latest mass migrations of people from one fomer Yugoslav republic to another represent ethnic cleansing and violent change in the ethnic structure of some territories, in this case Kosovo. This process is of great concern regarding the future and the fate of the nations, particularly of those who have chosen the peaceful way of solving their questions. This road was also chosen by the 3 million-strong Albanian nation in former Yugoslavia which, once divided from its mother state the Republic of Albania, with the fall of former Yugsolavia and with the formation of new states has once again been divided into three states with the status of a national minority.

The Albanian nation in former Yugoslavia, faced with the Serbian occupation in Kosovo, as well as the one living in FYROM, faced with the formation of a unitarian one-nation Slav-Macedonian state, hopes that

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the international community will finally stop the practice of rewarding nations that cause wars and will sanction the situations that have been created with war and that it will engage itself for an overall solution of the crisis in former Yugoslavia by unique criteria.

We would like to remind you that the Albanian nation in Macedonia makes up at least one third of the total population (according to official statistics it is 22.9 percent) and it is discriminated against in the spheres of policy, economy, education, culture, and so on. With the possible expansion of the conflict toward the south of the Balkans, all this discrimination could be a catalyst bringing FYROM into this war, which would be detrimental for all its nations and would create new problems for the international community.

In maintaining peace and stability in this state, which is in the process of formation, a special role has been and will continue to be played by the Albanian political factor. Because of the lack of readiness on the Slav-Macedonian side to seek a positive climate for a principled solution of the Albanian question here, the situation could easily slip out of control, with other options arising that would have serious repercussions for peace and stability in the Balkans and in general.

Mr. President, we highly estimate your initiative for an overall solution of the crisis in former Yugoslavia, and we believe that it has come at the right time. As a population that is living within its ethnic territory, and that is permanently exposed to the threat of being engulfed in the flames of a crisis to which it has not contributed in any way, we believe that this initiative would be totally right and humane if all constitutive units of the former Yugoslav federation are encompassed, regardless of whether they are involved in a war conflict or not.

So, in order to put an end to this great tragedy and to prevent new conflicts, we believe and we request that your initiative for an overall solution of the crisis in former Yugoslavia include the Albanian question in Kosovo, FYROM, Montenegro, and Serbia, without a solution for which there cannot be enduring peace and stability in the region.

For the Party for Democratic Prosperity—Abdurahman Aliti, president; for the Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians in Macedonia—Arben Xhaferi, president; and for the People's Democratic Party—Iljaz Halimi, president.

[Box, p 12]

Letter to Council of Europe

The following material, in the form of a letter, was presented to Mr. Martinez, president of the Assembly of the Council of Europe during his visit to Macedonia, by Ismet Ramadani. The publisher presents it in abbreviated form. In the first part of the letter the political position of the Albanians in Macedonia and their inequality and the alleged discrimination against them is described in detail. It is used to substantiate the PDP's demands to the Council of Europe.

Tetovo, 17 May 1995

The Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP) and Representatives of the Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia

Material for the Council of Europe Delegation Regarding Our Views on the Political and Social Status of the Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia

"You will probably ask yourself why the Albanians participate in parliament and government, if their demands for equality have not been met. The response is as follows:

"The Albanians in Macedonia have always played the role of a stabilizing element in the republic, always aware of their responsibility for peace and stability in Macedonia and the whole region. Our presence in parliament and government is a sign of our readiness to solve all problems through diplomatic dialogue, tolerance, and by peaceful means, in order to create a political environment and atmosphere where the democratic methods of the European democratic countries with a progressive orientation are applied. This means that our goal is to orient the Republic of Macedonia, as the common state of all its citizens, toward Europe.

"Unfortunately, our goal has not been understood, and, therefore, at this moment we cannot say whether Macedonia is progressing toward Europe and living in European style.

"We are pleased to hear that you are prepared to discuss Macedonia's application to become a full member of the Council of Europe, which for us is a sign that we are a part of Europe. In this case, we hope that this moment will have a great influence in bringing about a more democratic and just treatment of the struggle with the Macedonian state we have mentioned in this report.

"It is with great sorrow that we conclude that radical changes (corrections) need to be made in the Republic

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of Macedonia in the constitutional, legal, political, and social treatment of ethnic non-Macedonian groups, particularly Albanian, and that only then will it fulfill the criteria to become a member of the Council of Europe.

"At this time we believe that Macedonia does not fulfill the criteria set down in the documents of the Council of Europe and of other international organizations.

"That is why membership in the Council of Europe should be accompanied by the beginning of real democratization in Macedonia in the equal treatment of all its citizens."

PDP parliamentary group

[Box, p 12]

Letter to the United Nations

Some Facts About the Position of the Albanians in Macedonia

"Beside Macedonians and other ethnic groups, there are also Albanians living in the Republic of Macedonia, and they make up one third (officially 22 percent) of the total population.

"After the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, the Macedonian authorities decided to constitute Macedonia as a unitarian and national state, despite the fact that it is a multiethnic, multiconfessional, and multicultural republic. In November 1991, after the Albanian members of parliament were outvoted, the Constitution of the Republic was adopted; so, it is just an expression of the will of the Macedonian nation, while the will of the Albanians was ignored. It is the source of all injustices and discriminations against the Albanians and other non-Macedonians, and the consequences can be seen every day.

"The Albanians from Macedonia are determined to solve their national and civil rights through the institutions of the system. This means adequate participation (according to the structure of the population) in central and local state institutions, in the administration, and in scientific and cultural institutes.

"With the beginning of the democratic processes in the region of the Republic of Macedonia we hoped that the inheritance of the past communist regime would be overcome. The introduction of pluralism created the hope that with the participation of the Albanians in parliament, the system, and the government, including other institutions, the errors of the past would be overcome and the status of Albanians improved. However, all efforts were fruitless. The old principle of discrimination against Albanians is still present. It can be noted in many sectors of public life."

The known "dissatisfaction" of the Albanians with their participation in political life, their presence in the state administration, the police, the army, and so on, were also noted in the letter. The problems in education were particularly stressed. In the end, the letter concludes:

"These facts (although there are many more) speak a lot about the reality in this region, with which the world is not at all or very little acquainted.

"At meetings with foreign representatives, Macedonian representatives present a very different, 'decorated' image, which leaves the impression that this is a democratic state and an 'oasis of peace.'"

Tetovo, 1 February 1995

PDP Information Department

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Walesa Says Country Must Defend Farmers

LD0309133495 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1300 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The state must defend the farmers' interests, Lech Walesa said during today's Harvest Home ceremonies at Jasna Gora. In the president's opinion, the state administration is not taking the appropriate decisions and the farmers' problems have not recieved the proper attention. According to Walesa, conditions for the development of the Polish countryside are not being created. There are no loans, logical legal solutions, or infrastructure for it, and above all no vision for the development of agriculture, the president said.

Speaking earlier, Roman Jagielinski, deputy prime minister and agriculture minister, assured the farmers that the government is looking after the farmers' interests and supports change in the countryside.

Primate Jozef Glemp called on farmers to band together in cooperatives for the good of the countryside and the family. In a sermon at Jasna Gora, the cardinal also pointed out the need to protect the environment. In the primate's opinion, pressure is being put on schools to teach sex education, and for that reason there is no time to teach about conservation.

Border Regions To Benefit From PHARE Funds

MM0509081395 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26-27 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Magdalena Kaczmarek: "Money To Claim: Wielkopolska...On the Border"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Four out of the total of 60 applications for funds to assist a number of economic and ecology-oriented investment projects submitted by voivodships in the Wielkopolska Region will be examined by the Poland and Hungary Assistance for Economic Restructuring [PHARE] Border Cooperation Program Commission. The decision to incorporate Poznan, Leszno, and Pila voivodships in the program developed by the EU was made earlier by a special international commission. Previously, the program embraced only voivodships adjacent to the state border.

Next year, ECU50 million drawn from a special fund will be allocated to finance capital investment projects involving economic and ecological programs in our western voivodships. The money should be channeled first and foremost into projects envisaging reconstruction and development of road and rail networks as well as those associated with protection of the natural environment.

"It is the first time that the PHARE program will finance something other than consultancy and programming schemes and will instead concentrate on so-called hard infrastructure," GAZETA POZNANSKA reporters were told by the director of the Poznan Voivodship Office Foreign Cooperation Department. A Polish committee appointed by the ministry for foreign economic cooperation decided this week that the money earmarked for Poznan Voivodship will be used to modernize a section of the A2 route near Pniewy. It is still necessary for the project to be approved by the European Commission in Brussels.

Other parts of Wielkopolska Region also hope to be granted funds within the scheme. Even though a couple of neighboring voivodships separate Leszno Voivodship from the state border, it has nevertheless been declared to belong to an "extended border zone." This makes it eligible to apply for PHARE funds designated from 1996 to provide capital for investment projects involving construction of community housing and protection of the natural environment.

"In our case the sum involved is certain to be quite considerable," Tomasz Malolepszy, deputy director of the Leszno Voivodship Office Regional Development Department, told GAZETA POZNANSKA corespondents. Unfortunately, claiming to be bound by the secrecy of decisions made in this matter, he refused to disclose the names of the localities selected to receive financial assistance from PHARE. All he was prepared to say was that one of the planned water and sewage treatment projects was already under way, and that another one represented a completely new public sector undertaking.

On the other hand, many applicants from Pila Voivodship who had hoped to be granted funds under the PHARE Border Cooperation Program were not so lucky. Only two out of the 42 projects forwarded by a number of cities and parishes in Pila Voivodship were approved by the funds allocation committee. An investment project proposing the construction of an affluent treatment facility in Krzyz was granted initial approval, while the proposal to build a public sewage system in Trzcianka received the status of a reserve project, to be approved in case some previously approved scheme were to be "dropped" for some reason.

Of all the unsuccessful applicants in Pila Voivodship the most disappointed are those who had hoped to obtain funds for the development of a sound tourist base and facilities. In the opinion of many parish authorities these kinds of investment projects deserve more than any others to be supported through encouragement and financial assistance—especially when we consider the fact that the River Notec Country is frequented each year by large numbers of visitors from across the Odra.

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It is unfortunate that their needs have not been taken into account by the PHARE program....

Bartoszewski Sets 2000 as EU Entry Deadline

AU0509083895 Vienna KURIER in German 4 Sep 95 p 3

[Unattributed report on interview with Polish Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski; place and date of interview not given: "Poland Presents Timetable for EU Entry"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Polish Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski is turning the tables. Because Brussels has not provided a date for the integration of the reform countries, he has set the deadline for Poland's accession to the EU: participation in the 1996 EU conference, negotiations in a record period of two years, and membership in the year 2000.

Bartoszewski, who experienced "all of the consequences of a totalitarian system," does not want to lose a single day. "Accession must take place quickly, otherwise the people's readiness to put up with certain burdens could be exhausted soon," he said in an interview with KURIER. "The atmosphere in Poland is in favor of the EU."

According to Bartoszewski, interference from the church, such as the recent EU-related warnings by Bishop Glemp, has little influence on the population. "He is only one of 110 high Polish church dignitaries. The church has to warn of moral threats, but it is up to the politicians to set priorities."

On 5 September, Bartoszewski will visit his Austrian counterpart, Schuessel, and present Poland's EU wish list.

Poland is also strongly pressing for NATO integration. "People believe that membership in the alliance is more realistic and could be achieved even more quickly than EU membership," the foreign minister said. Personally, he is in favor of the "protection through the security alliance."

As far as the EU's future is concerned, Bartoszewski pleads for "a federation of states and not for a European federal state." His vision of Europe is one of "a community of values that did not separate us when the universities were founded in 1348 in Prague, 1364 in Krakow, and 1365 in Vienna. At that time, people were thinking along identical lines. Today, we are far from that." [passage omitted]

Daily Reports Changes in Walesa Chancellery

WS0509071795 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by Piotr Wysocki: "New Division of Work in Walesa's Entourage"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Beginning next week, the President's Chancellory will work according to a new organizational model. The information that ZYCIE WARSZAWY received indicates that, although the reorganization is being implemented, the core of the Chancellory will still be the team that has been there so far; there will be few people from outside the Chancellory.*

The new organizational model of the Chancellory seems to suggest that new Chancellory head Stanislaw Iwanicki will maintain the dominant role. The other ministers, except Janusz Ziolkowski, will be subordinated to him; they will also supervise the work of the individual offices.

In line with the information we received earlier, Minister Andrzej Zakrzewski will supervise the work of the following offices: the press office, the office of presidential political services, and the international office.

Minister Andrzej Marcinkowski is to supervise the following offices: the legal office, the office of letters and complaints, and the secretariat of the National Judiciary Council.

Minister Andrzej Kozakiewicz is to continue to supervise the work of the president's office and the office of organizational services.

The financial office and the administrative-economic office is to continue working as it has so far, supervised by Minister Tadeusz Kociszewski. Presidential Chancellory Head Stanislaw Iwanicki will personally supervise the work of the office of cadres and distinctions.

"Moreover, following the model of the Chancellory of the President of the Second Republic of Poland, I would like to divide it into a civilian section and a military office," ZYCIE WARSZAWY was told by Stanislaw Iwanicki, who commented on the latest organizational changes.

As ZYCIE WARSZAWY has found out, Andrzej Kojder, head of the office of presidential political services, will be promoted to the rank of an under secretary of state. A new man in the Chancellory will be Judge Przemyslaw Strach of the Poznan Court of Appeals. It is not known yet whether he will be the head of Walesa's office or the head of Iwanicki's office. It is only known that his candidacy for those posts is being considered.

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In the past, Strach was the head of the cadres department and head of the office in the Justice Ministry. He left the ministry when his work was supervised by Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz. He is believed to be a man of the Christian-National Union.

A new man will also be Jan Rejczak, former Radom voivode and chairman of the Catholic Intellectuals Club in that town; he became Lech Walesa's adviser for contacts with self-governments and trade unions.

Kwiatkowski 'Recalled'

WS0509111195 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by K.Gr.: "Kwiatkowski Irrevocably Recalled"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Stanislaw Iwanicki, new head of the President's Chancellory, recalled yesterday Tomasz Kwiatkowski from the post of an under secretary of state in the Chancellory. Thus, Kwiatkowski has ceased to hold any office in Lech Walesa's Chancellory. Three weeks ago he lost the post of the head of the Chancellory and was replaced by Iwanicki. As the head of the Chancellory, Kwiatkowski was in conflict with Presidential Office head Mieczyslaw Wachowski. After Wachowski was recalled, Kwiatkowski often spoke in the media about the detrimental role which Wachowski had played. "As I see it, I upset Walesa very much with my comments on the day Wachowski was recalled," said Kwiatkowski when asked about reasons for his dismissal. According to the Presidential Press Office, Kwiatkowski was recalled neither for political reasons nor due to unfavorable evaluation of his work, but because it was required by the structural changes in the Chancellory.

Oleksy Calls Presidential Campaign 'Destructive'

LD0509084995 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 5 Sep 95

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy has told Polish radio that statements made by politicians indicate that the presidential electoral campaign will be destructive.

[Oleksy] "Judging by the signs that are already apparent, this electoral campaign will be destructive: Destructive to people, to the image of our state, and to the public understanding of our transformations and progress."

The prime minister said that members of the government, including the prime minister, are not taking part in the presidential campaign.

[Oleksy] "The government, starting with the prime minister, does not take part in the electoral campaign. No government representative is allowed to take part in organizing electoral meetings or other forms of electioneering. But this has nothing to do with having one's own political views. Nobody should be expected to deny their political views just because the presidential campaign is in progress."

Kwasniewski Comments on Pawlak's Candidacy

LD0309121395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] leader Aleksander Kwasniewski has said that the choice of Waldemar Pawlak as the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] candidate in the presidential elections is no surprise to him. He stressed in an interview for Radio Rzeszow that it is natural for the leader of a large party with a homogeneous electorate to run in the presidential contest.

In Aleksander Kwasniewski's opinion, Waldemar Pawlak's candidacy is not in competition with the SLD, because each candidate appeals to a different electorate. He also expressed the hope that in the second round of the elections, the electorate of both candidates will contribute to the final victory of one of them.

Lech Kaczynski To Run in Presidential Election

WS0509072095 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by Piotr Zaremba: "Lech Kaczynski Decides To Run"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Lech Kaczynski, former head of the Supreme Chamber of Control, has decided to run in the presidential elections. Although he said no two weeks ago, Center Accord [PC] activists, led by Jaroslaw Kaczynski, managed to make him change his mind. They have reportedly collected 50,000 signatures supporting him.

"My brother has decided to run," PC Chairman Jaroslaw Kaczynski told ZYCIE WARSZAWY. "What made him change his mind was the strong persuasion on the part of the party's activists as well as the results of the signature-collection campaign."

According to Kaczynski, PC members have already collected 50,000 signatures (the law requires 100,000). Lech Kaczynski's election campaign is to be directed against Democratic Left Alliance candidate Aleksander Kwasniewski on the one hand, as well as against Lech Walesa and Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz as people who, according to PC, were unable to oppose the

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configurations which the Polish People's Republic had left behind in the country, especially in the economy.

It is worth recalling that Kaczynski's candidacy was put forward by the PC Political Council in early August. Kaczynski himself is not a member of the party. At the beginning, he even wanted to send a letter to the council and ask them not to make such a decision. Finally, he did not do that, but he did not agree to run either.

Two weeks later, he said a firm no to the PC Administration, saying that he had no chance of success in the elections. Then his brother began to talk about the possibility of giving up his political career. It became quite possible that PC might not endorse any candidate. However, the party's activists did not stop the campaign to collect signatures. As a matter of fact, they were collected even before the Political Council made its decision. [passage omitted]

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Ethnic Hungarians Protest Education Law

LD0209174295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At least 20,000 people gathered in Odorheiu Secuiesc [Szekelyudvarhely] today to protest the new Romanian Education Law. Bela Marko, chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania did not question the need for Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation, but said that in his view this can only be achieved if the Romanian leadership does not take measures to the detriment of Hungarians living there, or of minorities, in general. Marko described the Romanian Education Law as being unacceptable, saying that its effect is disadvantageous for Hungarians. He said that teaching in the mother tongue will not affect Romanian children.

The mass rally adopted an appeal calling on Romanians to accept with understanding the minorities' adherence to their mother tongues.

Comments From UDMR's Marko

AU0209182495 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A civil protest forum against the Education Law was held today in Odorheiul Secuiesc. Bela Marko, president of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], reiterated the Hungarian community's desire to self-determination. He said that one cannot expect a parliamentarian who does not know the Hungarian language and culture to decide when the mother tongue should be used or not. In his opinion, the Education Law is an insult to the Constitution.

The UDMR president positively assessed the reconciliation initiative launched by President Ion Iliescu. He said that this initiative, which was addressed to Hungary's leadership, is a necessity. Further, Laszlo Pal, president of the Hungarian teachers, said that, quote, the Education Law is conceived with an unclean and noxious logic, in order to destroy the spirit of the Hungarian minority, end quote.

Speeches were also made by Alba Iulia Archbishop and other Church representatives, our correspondent Mirel Trodan reports.

PD Accuses Government of 'Political Infirmity'

AU3108134695 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 25 Aug 95 p 8

[Statement issued by the Press Bureau of the Democratic Party in Bucharest on 23 August: "The Government Has Signed Its Certificate of Helplessness"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with a series of statements issued by the government leadership at its meeting with journalists at Victoria Palace on 22 August 1995, the Press Bureau of the Democratic Party [PD] is empowered to issue the following statement:

1. The reaction of strong disapproval shown by large categories of the population toward the triumphant, untrue, and uncorroborated manner in which the Vacaroiu government has presented its imaginary achievements is absolutely justified and the PD shares that disapproval without reservation. To claim that the living standard has gone up this year, when the prices and tariffs for basic foodstuffs and key services—such as energy, water, garbage collection, public transportation, and so forth—have increased twofold or threefold over the indexation roster of wages and pensions, means to deny what is common knowledge.

Our fellow citizens recognize the Ceausescu-like propaganda of sad remembrance in these official statements. As confirmed by the institutes studying the quality of life, more than half of the country's population is living below the subsistence level, with the phenomenon of poverty having rapidly expanded overall, during the Vacaroiu administration.

2. The same justified and natural negative reaction was also caused by the assessments of the rulers about the so-called economic growth and alleged continuation of the reform process. It is enough to mention the incredible volume of stockpiles we currently have, which has reached three-quarters of monthly industrial production; the financial blockage, which has exceeded the huge figure of 12,000 billion lei; and the continuous growth of the budgetary and trade balance deficit, to prove how far removed from reality the figures presented at the aforementioned news conference by the government leadership are. At the same time, the issuing of privatization coupons, which is proceeding with serious errors, the inadmissible dragging of feet in the unfolding of the restructuring process, and the increase of the fiscal burden confirm the blockage of the reform process and the unprecedented worsening of the crisis in the economy and the entire society.

3. Likewise, another denial of the truth is the way in which the current government is trying to cover up its huge guilt in having neglected—up to committing

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obvious acts of irresponsibility—to capitalize on the good crop of wheat and other agricultural produce this year. The PD, which has initiated and continues its political action aimed at removing the crisis in the utilization of agricultural produce, despite all threats and misrepresentations, is drawing attention to the fact that according to information received from the counties, not even half of the figures aired by the government on the purchase and storage of wheat are true.

The figure of 5 million metric tons of crops purchased by the administration, as it was presented by the prime minister, is contested by the figure of 3 million metric tons put forward by the minister of agriculture.

The wheat crisis continues and only foreshadows the future crisis in the sunflower and particularly of the corn crop.

4. At the news conference on 22 August 1995, the prime minister and his main aides reconfirmed their profoundly undemocratic positions through their unjust, aggressive, and fervent accusations brought against the opposition, particularly against the PD. To resort to manipulations, diversions, and provocations is a sign of weakness and political infirmity; that is why we do not want to enter into polemics with the exponents of such practices. Nevertheless, here are several questions that one may ask in connection with the wheat scandal alone:

- Should the Roman government, which was forcefully removed from power four years ago, deal in the summer of 1995 with the utilization of the wheat and other crops?
- Should the Roman government, which was forcefully removed from power four years ago, guarantee in the summer of 1995 the necessary credits for the purchase of the entire wheat crop offered by the producers?
- Should the Roman government, which was forcefully removed from power four years ago, ensure in the summer of 1995 the appropriate budget allocations as well as fair purchase prices capable of covering part of the interest paid by producers on loans for the agricultural production?
- Should the Roman government, which was forcefully removed from power four years ago, finalize in the summer of 1995 the measures required to eliminate the monopoly of ROMCEREAL and set up a private network for the purchase and utilization of the agricultural production?

A government that answers to criticism of its own bankrupt policy by launching accusations against a cabinet that has not been in power for four years, is signing its own certificate of malevolence and helplessness.

The peasants, like the other citizens of the country, are well aware of what the Roman government did for them and they know how much it had to struggle—and against whom, in particular—to reinstate land ownership and ensure the prerequisites for the recovery of their farms. The 1995 crop shows who has really won the wager with the agriculture.

5. The loss of self-control, the violent language, irritation, and unjustified accusations heard at the governmental news conference on 22 August 1995 can be seen as increasingly dangerous signs in the current political and social situation in the country. They are clear signals of an attempt to consolidate the authoritarian regime of a single party, which does not accept criticism or permit any opposition, since it claims that nobody—except the current administration—is entitled to pronounce himself on the most important problems of the political, economic, and social life. As a reply to Mr. Vacaroiu's claim that he is one of the few real experts in agriculture, one should probably remind him that he must have obtained this specialization while growing wheat in his director's office in the former State Planning Committee [during the communist regime]. However, as already mentioned before, there is no point in entering into polemics with individuals who systematically violate the elementary norms of civilized and democratic behavior.

6. The PD is determined to further act to resolve the country's problems to the benefit of the population, and to further respond to any dirty attacks it is submitted to in the future, with the dignity of those who know that they are doing their duty for the Romanian nation.

We will not give up in the struggle to defend Romania's interests.

You can count on the PD! Count on us!

The PD Press Bureau

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Drnovsek Criticizes Military Talks With Croatia

AU0309083095 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by Vladimir Vodusek: "Defense Minister's Solo Performance"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana, 29 August—The circumstances of the 22 August meeting of the Slovene and Croatian defense ministers still have not been entirely clarified. Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek was not informed about the above meeting. According to the Defense Ministry's explanation, the meeting constituted an unofficial working visit at the ministerial level, which is not subject to discussion at governmental level. The government last met in early August.

The prime minister sent a letter to the defense minister in which he observed that the meeting was not well chosen as far as time and place. With this meeting a routine agreement with the Croatian Defense Ministry supposedly takes on an added dimension in view of the fact that the neighboring country is still at war. Slovenia strives to maintain good-neighborly relations; however, under no circumstances does it wish to be linked to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, and from this standpoint the defense minister's move did not have the nature of a routine meeting because it had international as well as defense and domestic connotations.

Judging from the letter's contents, the meeting was more of a solo performance by Defense Minister Jelko Kacin, although it supposedly took place at the initiative of the Croatian side, primarily as a routine working meeting.

According to the Defense Ministry's interpretations the document discussed was not a military cooperation agreement, but a platform for the exchange of military attaches. The need for this has often been voiced by the Croatian side and also the Slovene Embassy in Zagreb. A memorandum on mutual cooperation in the area of defense would supposedly form the most suitable platform for this, providing a basis for the exchange of attaches to take place. [passage omitted]

The Croatian media interpreted the announced memorandum on military cooperation, which the two defense ministries are expected to sign, as a military cooperation agreement between Slovenia and Croatia, although at the meeting, judging from the Defense Ministry's explanation, they discussed exclusively the memorandum, which is more of an indication of good intentions than an obligation. [passage omitted]

The fuss that was made about the meeting in Split definitely implores a careful consideration of the timing of an exchange of military attaches and the signing of a memorandum on military cooperation, which will, judging by everything, be delayed at least until the peace conference or until reaching of a peace agreement between the warring sides in the former Yugoslavia. Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak announced that the memorandum would be signed by Christmas; however, it seems that the whole affair will be dragged into the 1996 election campaign, in which Slovene politicians will be divided into those who are more favorably disposed toward Croatia and those who, at least conditionally, support neutrality in the Serb-Croatian conflict.

Implication of Croatian Victory for Ljubljana

AU0509104795 Ljubljana MAG in Slovene 30 Aug 95 p 43

[Commentary by Spela Predan: "Storm Over Slovenia?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It seems preposterous that Slovene diplomacy would be unaware of the implications of the fall of Knin. Croatian confidence has reached a peak, as the country is now becoming a very powerful regional superpower that has increasingly more influence in the world. For that reason, its negotiating stance toward Italy and our country, with which it, among other things, has an unresolved border problem, has changed. Croatia will not yield, however, it may escalate the open issues. The Croats, at least in their policy toward Bosnia, are currently sporting a hegemonistic orientation and acting similarly to the Serbs, sending their troops and armaments into another country.

Slovenia should view Tudjman's expansionism with some distance, as the other countries have done. It all appears that Slovene politics is deliberately foot-dragging and pandering to the Croats, because it is aware that it will resolve the border problem to its disadvantage and would like to drag the negotiations on it until after the elections. It might very well happen that we will lose Trdinov Vrh and, thus, give Croatia complete control over the Slovene airwaves. For that reason, some people are justly displeased with the Slovene official "enthusiasm" over the success of "Operation Storm" and also the fact that the defense minister is not considering the possibility of an aggravation of Slovene-Croatian relations. It is nothing new that the combat readiness of our country is very poor in all spheres. Despite the great efforts of the professionals in the Slovene Army, who have recently been decimated by numerous cadre reshuffles, they did not manage to maintain a satisfactory combat readiness because the technical department is lagging behind too much. Just looking at the armored mechanized units, one can conclude with concern that the situation is critical. There is even a

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shortage of spare parts, which we do not manufacture at home because the minister is evidently not interested in military production. For that reason, vehicles cannot be driven and are turning into heaps of old iron. The engines of five out of 10 tanks recently gave up on a military training ground in Pocek.

The only person who could probably explain why the situation is as it is, is Defense Minister Jelko Kacin, who, after the signing of an agreement [on the exchange of military attaches], should have inquired with his Croatian colleague Gojko Susak how Susak manages to set some many armed vehicles in motion, although they are relatively old, and to secure a complete supply of spare parts and ammunition. It would be a lot safer for Slovenia if our defense minister were to concentrate more on his department rather than politics, just in case his Croatian colleagues decide to outmaneuver him and stage a demonstration of power in Piran Bay. This would not be surprising at all as the Croatian police, to which our interior minister was the first to wire congratulations for "Operation Storm," is already doing something similar.

The hysteria of the Slovene diplomacy regarding the Croatian "Operation Storm" very much lacks tact in some respects, however, it might prove to be productive in the future if the countries reach a mutual consensus and act together against the arrogance of our Italian neighbors.

Radio Views Karadzic-Milosevic Agreement

AU3108145395 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 31 Aug 95

[Report by Matej Surc from Belgrade]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pale accepted the policy of peace. This was the title on the front pages of all Belgrade papers and the political issue number one in the Serbian capital today. Karadzic dropped a hot potato into the hands of Milosevic, who would like to be the leader of all Serbs but is not even interested in the Serbian casualties. By this, a temporary compromise was struck between Pale and Belgrade, while the world was hoodwinked that the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs was willing to negotiating under the patronage of the Serbian president.

Karadzic and Milosevic have staged a similar political farce with the Blue Helmet recently, whom the first man took hostage and the second then rescued. Ultimately, everybody was happy with the exception of the Sarajevo residents who remained the clay pigeons of Karadzic's artillery. [passage omitted]

Only the nouveau Communists in Serbia, led by Milosevic's wife Mira Markovic, deemed last night's agreement between Pale and Belgrade worthless because Karadzic did not resign. To other opposition leaders, the agreement means a new step toward peace. [passage omitted]

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Federal

Jovic: FRY-RS Agreement 'Turning Point'

LD0309120095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1143 GMT 3 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 3 (TANJUG)—A parliament official of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], Borislav Jovic, said on Sunday [3 September] that the agreement reached by Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic [RS], the state set up by the Bosnian Serbs, on a joint delegation in peace talks was of paramount importance and could mean a turning point in resolving the crisis.

In an interview with Radio Kragujevac, Jovic said that a joint negotiating team meant a united Serb position and that it could mean the beginning of the end of war and an end of the erosion of the Serb position in the war.

Jovic, who is the president of the foreign affairs committee of the chamber of citizens of the Yugoslav federal parliament and vice president of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia, said that a settlement of the crisis was closer, even from the point of view of the big powers, mainly the United States, because its role was crucial.

Jovic said that he believed that it was of vital interest, primarily an internal political interest, to the United States, which plays the major role among big powers, to resolve the conflict in the Balkans and that it had launched a full-scale political offensive to find a peaceful solution, which was a fairly good sign.

The proposals put forth by the U.S. negotiators are acceptable to the Serb side, Jovic said.

NATO Involvement in Bosnia Seen Discrediting UN

LD0209123495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1058 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Sept 2 (TANJUG)—NATO's military involvement in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the side of one party to the conflict does not contribute to peace and discredits the peacemaking and impartial role of the United Nations, Vice President of the Yugoslav Interparliamentary Union Goran Percevic said in New York.

In a speech delivered at a special session of the council of the Interparliamentary Union (IPU) at the United Nations Friday [1 September] evening, Percevic pointed out that the use of force, particularly through sanctions, could not bring about solutions to international conflicts, particularly not to civil wars.

The use of force cannot replace a peaceful and political settlement of the problem, Percevic told representatives of about 100 countries taking part in the special session on the occasion of the UN jubilee.

The session, which will focus on the "parliamentary vision of international cooperation in the 21st century," is attended by a delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, headed by the speaker of the chamber of the republics, Milos Radulovic.

Percevic said that, in its international relations, Yugoslavia was giving absolute priority to political means in resolving all conflicts and disputes.

Speaking about the role of the United Nations, Percevic stressed that the principles of the UN charter should be the cornerstone of all future UN activities.

Yugoslavia is ready to take active part in the overall transformation of international relations and contribute to revitalizing the United Nations and upgrading its effectiveness.

In order to achieve these aims, Yugoslavia is ready to fully cooperate with the world organization, Percevic said.

Customs Official Discusses Offenses, Embargo

AU0309170095 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26-27 Aug 95 pp 8-9

[Interview with Mihalj Kertes, director of the Federal Customs Directorate, by Stevan Zec; place and date not given: "People Do Not Forgive Anyone for Success"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After two and a half years of silence, Mihalj Kertes finally accepted BORBA's offer to talk to deputy editor in chief Stevan Zec.

Instead of beginning the usual way, we would like to begin by quoting Mr. Kertes' secretary, who spontaneously said: "I have accompanied him on every post for seven years now, but none has been as stressful as this one...."

Mihalj Kertes later said: "From this post you either go to prison or to a madhouse! I have chosen the latter.... That is the way I am...."

[Zec] Has anyone ever attempted to take a really large amount of foreign currency out of the country, and what do you do in such a situation?

[Kertes] In a number of exceptionally successful results since 4 May 1994, and from 1 January up until today, which is a result of the qualitative transformation of the customs service, there have also been numerous results in the implementation of regulations in the foreign

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currencies system. The Federal Customs Directorate, within its jurisdiction, is responsible for controlling foreign currencies on border crossings.

Under the conditions of the unjustly imposed embargo against Yugoslavia, this function of the Federal Customs Directorate is of exceptional importance because it directly influences the dinar's stability and supports the stabilization program of economic developments in the country. It is known that there have been attempts to illegally take large amounts of foreign currency out of Yugoslavia. The Federal Customs Directorate puts great efforts into preventing the illegal exit of foreign currency from the country, and it has been successful. Many cases where people have hidden foreign currency with the intention of taking it out of the country have been discovered. I have to point out that we were dealing with large amounts of money. It also often happens that people declare the foreign currency that they are taking out but do not have the necessary documentation to cover it.

For example, in 1994 approximately 7,200 offenses of this sort were discovered. From 1 January to 31 April, there were approximately 322 offenses a month, and in the remaining eight months approximately 722, meaning they increased by more than 100 percent.

From January to July of 1995, the Federal Customs Directorate initiated proceedings for approximately 7,000 offenses, which equals the number of offenses in 1994. Expressed in German marks [DM], in the first seven months of this year around 22 million were confiscated, which, in comparison to our foreign currency potential and particularly the foreign currency reserves, is a huge amount. In comparison to 1994, the foreign currency confiscated in the first seven months of this year amount to DM2 million more. [passage omitted]

How To Help the Economy

[Zec] Imports permitted through certificates from the Chamber of Commerce of Yugoslavia is a legal way to import for the economy. Are there any uncertainties or disagreements in that sphere?

[Kertes] Customs regulations provide that, under the conditions of sanctions against Yugoslavia, the import of certain goods is carried out with significant customs privileges. This primarily regards the import of raw materials, reproduction materials, and spare parts that are not produced in Yugoslavia and serve for production and services. In those cases, customs and turnover taxes are not paid, and other taxes are paid only in the amount of 11 percent of the customs base, which is significantly less than the import conditions under normal circumstances.

A certificate from the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce serves as a proof that the goods are not produced in Yugoslavia or not produced in sufficient amounts. I believe that this import is not big in quantity, since bigger quantities of import are not possible because of the sanctions against Yugoslavia. There are no particular uncertainties or disagreements in this sphere.

[Zec] Customs and other duties are not paid on goods imported for business purposes in duty-free zones. Which goods are those? How is the foreign currencies system regulated in duty-free zones?

[Kertes] The law on free zones provides that no customs or other import duties are paid on goods imported for business performed within the zones, except for the duty for customs registration at the rate of 0.5 percent. Goods intended for business in the zones are all the goods imported for the needs of the users of the duty-free zone: equipment, raw materials, reproduction material, spare parts for equipment, disposable materials, etc.

The duty on customs registration is paid when the imported goods are stored in the free zone. [passage omitted]

[Zec] In practice, Yugoslavia has various borders. With Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, border traffic for citizens is "smuggling," the border with The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is the same but somewhat different (identity cards—passports), and the borders with Bosnia and Croatia are another thing.... How should all that be coordinated, controlled, and supervised in a political, economic, and security sense?

[Kertes] Borders with each of the neighboring countries of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and every other border crossing have their particularities. We know exactly what we should pay most attention at the crossings to Bulgaria or Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], or the Serbian Republic, or the Republic of Serbian Krajina. So, for example, you will not notice that passengers are smuggling gas from Macedonia because it is expensive there, but you will notice that on the Romanian border. There are attempts to smuggle clothes made in Turkey from Bulgaria, which does not happen on the border with the Serbian Republic; however, on the border with the Serbian Republic, you will have to pay special attention to the attempts to bring in weapons and ammunition into the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia....

The Federal Customs Directorate undertakes all cadre and organizational measures to improve the efficiency of work on all crossings in order to avoid delays and conduct the necessary checking of passengers and goods. In that sense, all necessary measures have been

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undertaken and crews on busy crossings have been reinforced, particularly on busiest days. We have also organized mobile crews that go to particular crossings as needed; then there are controls in the depth of the customs area, later controls, and so on.

Profiteers Should Be Eradicated

[Zec] To what degree do we ourselves make the border traffic of goods, people, and services more complicated during the embargo? For example, our regulations, which change so often....

[Kertes] I believe that the authorities of the customs service do not make the traffic of goods and people in the time of the embargo more difficult, on the contrary. Shifts have been introduced in all units of the customs service that deal with the clearance of goods; when needed, we work on Sundays and holidays, too. Our objective is to carry out customs procedures right away, to send the goods into production as soon as possible because that directly influences productivity and the degree of utilization of production capacities, economic efficiency, and the profitability of enterprises. You can confirm what I just said through all significant economic subjects, foreign trade companies, and shipping agencies.

Unfortunately, this is also a time of war profiteers and unconscientious individuals who are attempting to get rich quickly. When it comes to them, customs officers are very rigorous, and I personally promise and guarantee that we will eliminate such occurrences; this can already be seen in the results we have had in combating the illegal import of goods, foreign currency offenses, and other attempts to abuse the regulations on customs, international trade, foreign currencies, and taxes.

It is true that some regulations often change, but that has been conditioned by our momentary economic and political situation, and I believe it is necessary. Customs control authorities are executive authorities, and they will consequently enforce the regulations passed by state authorities. [passage omitted]

[Zec] What is significant about the customs control at Surcin Airport, especially after international air traffic was allowed again?

[Kertes] In the customs service organization, our unit at Surcin Airport is of particular significance. The work of this branch office is specific, first of all, they have to organize and control a larger number of passengers and the goods that they are carrying with them.

What could be considered characteristic is the fact that since the airport reopened for passenger traffic, a large number of attempts to take foreign currency illegally out of the country have been prevented, both when the foreign currency was hidden or declared, but there was no documentation necessary to take it out of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In all cases, we initiated proceedings for offenses of foreign currency regulations. Besides, we also clear the humanitarian aid that arrives on planes. This branch office is absolutely capable of performing all the work under its jurisdiction in a professional, responsible, and efficient way.

They Constantly Want To Remove Me

[Zec] Are new customs regulations being prepared for the lifting of the embargo? Are customs officers being trained, and if so how?

[Kertes] It is certain that after the sanctions are lifted, it will be necessary to change certain regulations, particularly in international trade and foreign currencies. In customs, those changes will be smaller, I would say. I have already said that customs authorities are executive authorities that are there to enforce new regulations, and, if necessary, they will help to find optimal solutions for the new situation through proposals and suggestions. The professional training of customs officers is a constant task and process, and I believe they will be prepared for the lifting of the sanctions. [passage omitted]

Increase in Price of Smuggled Gas Reported

AU0209084795 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by "D.Ob."]

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest confusion on the "street gas market" and the increase in the price of gas by 5 dinars a liter, was, this time, not triggered by a rise in the cost of foreign currencies on the black market, because there has been none. It was primarily triggered by swift speculations and by a certain strengthening of the border controls.

Yet, some details can be indicative. For example, only two days before the price increase, it was reported in some of our media that a representative of the U.S. Administration had warned the Romanian authorities of some breaches of the embargo against the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and of the tolerant attitude of the Romanians towards the smuggling of fuel across the border, which has become flagrant. Already then, one could guess that the Romanian authorities were going to tighten the control, particularly that of the smuggling corridors on the Danube River. That is exactly what happened, and in that way the supplies of fuel dried out

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considerably this weekend. Whatever managed to get through was more expensive.

"On the river" gas reached the price of 1 German mark [DM] a liter, instead of 65 pfennigs, which means that, when one includes "our mediator on the water" and the retail street dealer, the price should be DM1.3. However, street dealers have used the panic and [words indistinct] sold gas [words indistinct] dinars, or around DM2 a liter.

TANJUG Reports Harvest Forecasts

LD0309161595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1602 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Sept. 3 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia this year should expect about 6 million tonnes of maize, which would be 30 percent up on the last year level, said Milutin Cirovic, who heads the institute for small crops and truck farming in Novi Sad.

A record yield could be expected in the quantity of sunflower, between 2-2.1 tonnes per hectare, despite frequent rains, added Cirovic.

He pointed out that soyabean was expected to yield between 3-3.5 tonnes per hectare, enabling the country do without imports.

Cirovic also expects 20-25 percent higher yield (about 4 wagons per hectare, and 5 wagons in places) of sugar beet than last year.

This expert urges that larger areas be sowed with industrial cultures and that sugar beet and soyabean be sown on 100,000 hectares, and sunflower on 200,000, so as to change the structure at the expense of small grains.

Cereals, in his view, should be sown on 700,000-750,000 hectares using high-yield varieties.

He proposes that only high-quality varieties be sown that could be exported to any market at a price 30-35 percent higher than third-class wheat.

Now was the time for the state to introduce measures to boost production of high-yield varieties of wheat, said Cirovic and noted that high-quality wheat fetches on the world market 170 dollars per tonne and third-class a mere 130 dollars per tonne.

Serbia

Milosevic Resumes Talks With Holbrooke

LD0309195395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1936 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—Talks between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Richard Holbrooke, head of the U.S. negotiating team for the crisis in former Yugoslavia, resumed in Belgrade late this evening.

Following talks in Bonn, Brussels, and Geneva, Holbrooke returned to Belgrade this evening to continue coordinating positions on the U.S. peace plan for the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia.

The U.S. delegation is to brief President Milosevic about the results of talks that it has held over the weekend with German officials, the Contact Group, NATO, and representatives of Islamic states.

The talks are expected to resume tomorrow.

Commentary Views Talks

AU0309112395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 3 Sep 95

[Commentary by Milika Sundic from "Sunday at Ten" current affairs program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Regarding the reactions of the international community and the relevant factors of international community, everybody agrees that a big shift occurred in the first part of the Milosevic-Holbrooke talks in search of a resolution for the current crisis on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Holbrooke's arrival in Belgrade tonight, after a Contact Group meeting in Bonn and after his talks with NATO ambassadors in Brussels, clearly proves that the United States does not wish to miss a big chance, thanks to the fact that the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and especially President Milosevic have done everything within their power to make this shift materialize. Naturally, there are major issues at stake, which will also be confirmed at the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the FRY, the Republic of Croatia, and the Muslim-Croatian federation in Geneva. This meeting is in advance deemed a good omen that may not yield a decision about the fate of peace on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, but will definitely open doors for the future talks and pave the way for a summit at the highest level of all sides in the conflict and those who participate in the negotiating process, which is the case with the FRY.

For the time being, it is immaterial where this meeting will be held, most probably in Moscow; however, what matters is that nothing should be done in the meantime that could undermine this already well-advanced process of search for the solution to the existing crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Naturally, when I say that perhaps some things could undermine what has been accomplished so far, and what

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has been accomplished so far is very significant, we should fear new threats about the renewed air strikes at the targets in the Serb Republic. We have already heard about the existence of evidence that is contrary to the findings of a hastily forged expert commission of the UN Protection Force in Sarajevo, suggesting that a big swindle is again involved. Of course, the world took it all for granted and NATO appeared to have been demanding that the massacre on Markale market be avenged on targets in the Serb Republic, which is something that exceeded all relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council about the protection of the so-called safe havens in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

However, I nevertheless hope that the Serb Republic Army will fulfill some of the basic demands by the international community, that is, NATO, and I also hope that today's talks of Helmut Kohl with President Yeltsin will perhaps remove this new danger which is looming from the sky of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In any case, tonight's talks of President Milosevic with Richard Holbrooke, chief of the U.S. negotiating team, will give numerous additional explanations, at least concerning these threats. The fact that Holbrooke is coming shows that the Americans believe that some additional progress can be made to achieve a permanent and stable peace as quickly as possible, that is, so that the Contact Group and the foreign ministers of the FRY, Croatia, and the Muslim government in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina could complete a part of the task in the sense of preparations for the summit at the highest level or a meeting of the Contact Group foreign ministers.

I anticipated that Holbrooke, after he had reported to the Contact Group in Geneva and after he had briefed NATO ambassadors on the results of the first phase of talks with President Milosevic, most likely would come. All his statements were encouraging because he assessed the talks with President Milosevic very positively, as being meaningful and representing a step forward. I anticipate that this second round of talks will in any case mean yet another step in the direction of a solution for the existing crisis.

Naturally, the fact that the leadership of the Serb Republic, that is, the political not the military leadership, accepted the factual situation is of special significance for everything that had happened prior to the Milosevic-Holbrooke talks. Thus, 13 months after the rejection of the Contact Group plan the Serb Republic acknowledged that the FRY is the only force that can get the entire crisis out of a deadlock and that a policy for Serbian interests cannot be pursued on several tracks. The political leadership in Pale accepting the position of the FRY, that is, of President Milosevic, facilitated a breakthrough at the diplomatic level. The entire world understands now that the well-known platform which President Milosevic repeated to his international interlocutors on numerous occasions, namely, that peace can only be achieved through negotiations and not on the battlefield and that the international community must finally realize that Yugoslavia, in saying this is primarily keeping in mind that there is no other way, and that what Serbia maintains and what President Milosevic advocates, should be a point of departure for all possible directions of search for a way out of the existing crisis, should have been embraced much earlier.

We have already said plenty about everything that had been missed over the past 13 months. History will judge this. On this occasion we must again keep in mind that the war-mongering factions have not been silenced yet, that they still exist in the FRY, on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, naturally, in the Muslim-Croatian federation first and foremost, and also in the behavior of Croatia, not only concerning aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina but also its engagement on the battlefields in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, against the Serb Republic, of course. All these voices will be overpowered only on condition that the international community follows what Serbia and President Milosevic point at. As a encircled country we are in any case the most authoritative to judge what should be done to end the war and the human suffering, to make the arms fall silent.

On this occasion the Americans and the international community should acknowledge the peaceloving policy pursued by the FRY and President Milosevic, when Yugoslavia, that is, President Milosevic, was chosen as the only significant personality and the only one who can drag this entire matter from the current crisis. Nothing should be done that would undermine President Milosevic's efforts. Ultimately, if the bombing is to continue without any reason then this will no longer represent bombing of the targets in the Serb Republic but also bombing of the efforts that this country, and above all, President Milosevic, are making.

Milosevic, Bildt Discuss Geneva Meeting

LD0409113395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1056 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received Carl Bildt, cochairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia.

Their talks focused on current issues and efforts being made to restore peace in the region.

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It was said that a commitment to political means in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis rules out resorting to force or threatening with force; it should especially be ruled out in the course of the most intensive efforts to renew the peace process, lay down arms, and abandon the escalation of armed conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The conviction was expressed that the forthcoming Geneva meeting at the level of foreign ministers will speed up the peace process; optimism was expressed with regard to the possibility of finding the overall political solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina, fair to all the warring sides.

The talks were also attended by Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs Milan Milutinovic.

Bildt Comments on Talks

AU0409115095 Paris AFP in English 1123 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Belgrade, Sept 4 (AFP)—Carl Bildt, EU negotiator for the former Yugoslavia emerged from talks with Serb President Slobodan Milosevic here and pinpointed the Serbs as the chief obstacle to the peace process.

Asked if the Bosnian Serbs were the main problem Bildt said: "At the moment yes in the sense that they know the conditions that are there and it's really in their hands to decide now whether we will have more violence or whether it will stop and I hope that they see the importance of the choice."

Bildt said he was satisfied with his meeting with Milosevic. He added: "We had a constructive meeting which I think gives some hope. The things are in the hands of the Bosnian Serb military and political leadership and I would very much hope (...) that they are ready to take the steps that are going to be necessary so that we will not have more violence."

Discussions between Bildt and Milosevic came the day after a round of talks between Milosevic and U.S. negotiator Richard Holbrooke, an assistant secretary of state. [passage omitted]

Holbrooke arrived Monday morning [4 September] in Greece and is due in the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia during the afternoon.

Bildt is due in Zagreb to meet the commander of the UN forces in ex-Yugoslavia French General Bernard Janvier and UN special envoy to ex-Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi.

Briefs Journalists

AU0409162995 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 95

[Report on news conference by Carl Bildt, cochairman of the Peace Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, by Tamara Motrenko and Daniela Spasic, in Belgrade on 4 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Begin Bildt recording in English fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] We had a businesslike and constructive meeting, which, in my opinion, offers hope. Of course, at this stage I cannot reveal the details of the talks for very understandable reasons.

We discussed only the current situation because some things are now in the hands of the military and political leadership of the Serbs from Bosnia. I hope that they now understand the wider political perspective that is opening up, and I hope that they are ready to make the necessary moves needed for the violence in Bosnia to stop, as no one wants it.

We want the establishment of a normal situation around Sarajevo, Carl Bildt said, and to set a political peace process on its course as soon as possible. We were not talking about whether artillery or military force should be used or not, but about the issues that concern peace, and I hope that this is understood. If one draws general conclusions from all this, if this is done above all by the Bosnian Serb leadership, I think that one could expect a quick progress in the political process. A meeting will be held in Geneva on 8 September, and everyone is involved in the consultations on the issues that will be discussed at the meeting, issues that will be of vital and essential importance even after the meeting in Geneva. These issues will constitute the corner stone for further political negotiations, Bildt said. I can already picture the way the final solution can be reached, the EU mediator stressed.

Answering a question on whether the Serbs represented the only obstacle in this stage or whether there were some other obstacles, Bildt said that they were the only obstacle in essence because they were aware of the situation and the conditions in front of them. It is up to them to decide whether there will be more NATO attacks or not.

I hope that the Serbs from Bosnia realize the importance of the choice and that they understand that no one is happy to see bombs being dropped and artillery being put in action. No one is happy with this, Bildt said, because we want peace and a political peace process.

Responding to a question on what he thought about the latest information that it was not the Serbs who shelled

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the market in Sarajevo, for what they had been accused of, Bildt said that all technical proofs and reports that he had received from the United Nations lead to the conclusion that the Serbs were guilty without a doubt. He also stressed that he was not an engineer or a technician.

Asked about the existence of other reports by UN officers who claim the opposite, that is, that the Serbs did not fire the shell in question, Carl Bildt said he did not have these reports but only those that he had received from the United Nations, the reports that point out to the Serb responsibility. Bildt explained that one did not need to stay in Sarajevo a long time to see whether the city is being targeted or not, and that he personally has visited the city and saw some people being hit. According to Bildt, this has been happening for several years. According to Bildt, there are also shells fired from Sarajevo at the Serbs, which is equally bad.

The thing that I have been opposed to most in this conflict is the targeting of innocent civilians, regardless of whether this is done by Serbs, Muslims, or Croats in Bosnia, Carl Bildt said. For me, this targeting is equally loathsome and must be stopped.

The renewal of the peace process without any threats is in the interest of Bosnian Serbs. Bildt stressed that the logic of peace is different from the logic of war and that he hoped that the Bosnian Serbs would accept the logic of peace, since a different approach to the situation would be catastrophic for all.

Asked about what happened to his accusations that President Tudjman was a war criminal, Carl Bildt explained that with this statement, he wanted to say that the same standards must be applied to all and that they will be applied, but that it was not up to him to make further decisions on it. According to Bildt, this is a job for competent persons who are independent and not involved in the peace process in which Bildt is taking part as a representative of the European Union.

Replying to the remark that there are not many people in the West who support his stand, Bildt said that such things require time and that it was not up to him to comment on this, stressing that seeing the situation from the EU perspective, he was not only a mediator but has also been appointed to defend certain values, such as European principles on the respect of human rights.

I am prepared to defend every innocent civilian, regardless of the nationality of the person affected by the war, every refugee, whatever his nationality may be, and all innocent civilians, victims of shelling and bombing, Bildt said. Everything I have mentioned, Bildt said, was completely inverse to all the values on which we in the European Union are trying to build a new Europe. This is why I hope that a division in Europe that we have already had once in the past, such as a division between East and West Europe, will not exist.

We are now uniting Europe, Bildt said, and this is a major task in front of us. There are risks and there is a question of whether there will be a gap between a united Europe and the Balkans. I would not like this to happen, Carl Bildt said. I would like to see your country and other countries from this region as part of the structure of European cooperation, and I think that there are ways to accomplish this, Carl Bildt explained.

Replying to a journalists' remark that the refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina and other regions of the previous Yugoslavia, such as Srebrenica, are being treated differently, something that is also being confirmed by the western press, Bildt said that many different things are being interpreted in a different way. As regards the basis of the EU policy, all refugees should enjoy the same treatment and efforts should be made to help the innocent people, regardless of whether they are Serbs, Muslims, or Croats.

Regarding the tragedy of the Serbs who fled Krajina, Carl Bildt said that he has personally met and held talks with some of them and that the exodus of Serbs from the Republic of Serb Krajina represents one of the biggest tragedies in Europe, which, as Bildt said, has been accepted as a fact

Asked whether he would again travel to Zagreb, considering that he has been declared persona non grata by the Croatian authorities, Bildt says that he was planning to go to Zagreb in the afternoon, but to hold talks with General Janvier and Yasushi Akashi. A meeting with President Tudjman is not envisaged to take place during today's visit.

Milosevic Feels 'Responsible' for Pilots' Fate

AU0109202095 Paris AFP in English 2006 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Sept 1 (AFP)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic told his French counterpart Jacques Chirac Friday [1 September] that he considers himself responsible for the fate of two French airmen shot down near the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale, French officials said.

Chirac's spokeswoman Catherine Colonna said Milosevic told Chirac in a telephone conversation Friday that "he feels responsible for the fate of the two airmen."

The Bosnian Serbs have claimed to be holding the two flyers whose Mirage 2000 jet was downed by a Serb

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missile while on a bombing raid over their stronghold of Pale.

However the Serbs have not shown the two men in public and NATO and France have not confirmed the reports of their capture. France said Thursday it had evidence the two were still alive.

Colonna said Chirac had demanded the "earliest possible release" of five European Union observers held by the Serbs since going missing Monday.

According to Colonna, Milosevic assured Chirac he understood France's demands for lifting the siege of the Bosnian capital Sarajevo and that he had "personally intervened with (Bosnian Serb) General Ratko Mladic to allow the free movement of traffic on all access roads to Sarajevo."

Marjanovic Confident Peace 'at Hand' in Balkans

AU0509145395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 95

[Speech by Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic at opening of the Novi Sad fall fair in Novi Sad on 5 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] It is my deepest conviction that the consistent implementation of our peace policy by the Serb and Yugoslav leaderships, and [words indistinct] international community that peace is at hand in the region of the former Yugoslavia.

The beginning of the peace process and the end of combat operations will remove from the scene all the players and supporters of the war option and will prevent (?further victims and destruction) [words indistinct]. Just peace and the certain lifting of sanctions will enable future development, free creative forces, and secure Serbia's and Yugoslavia's return to their place in the international community. I once again wish all participants at this great fair success in their work. I proclaim the 32d International Fall Fair open.

Milosevic's Party Hails U.S. Peace Initiative

AU0309113895 Paris AFP in English 1109 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 3 (AFP)—President Slobodan Milosevic's ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) on Sunday [3 September] hailed U.S. efforts to resolve the crisis in former Yugoslavia.

The party's deputy leader, Borislav Jovic, in a statement to a Serbian radio station said the United States was "playing the greatest role" in finding a solution. Thanks to this, he added, "we are closer to resolving the conflict."

According to Jovic, the United States had "a vital political interest" in solving the Balkans problem. Washington's "robust political offensive" to find a peaceful solution was a "very good sign," he said.

Besides, Washington's proposals were "satisfactory from the Serbian side's point of view," he added.

Opposition Parties React to NATO Air Strikes

AU0209135195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 31 August on page 2 caries seven reports on Yugoslav opposition parties reacting to the NATO air strikes on Bosnian Serb positions.

A 300-word BETA-attributed report cites a statement by Serbian Radical Party leader Vojislav Seselj to BETA "yesterday" that the "criminal attack" by NATO aircraft on Serb positions around Sarajevo "confirms the Radicals' darkest suspicions that the massacre of Muslims in the Sarajevo streets was staged by the Muslim authorities and their Western patrons." Further on, he is cited to have said that the only "correct response" to this attack and to Slobodan Milosevic's "betraying policy" is to carry out a "fierce counterattack on all Muslim and Croat positions in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly the Muslim part of Sarajevo, on Gorazde and Tuzla."

Seselj is also reported to have said that "the Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina have been 'deceived' by Milosevic and his guaranty that their positions would not be bombarded if they release the peace forces' hostages, whom they kept after the previous 'violent and unjust' NATO raid."

A 600-word report by I. Kisic focuses on a news conference by the Civic Alliance of Serbia (GSS) on 30 August at which GSS leader Vesna Pesic "appeals on NATO to stop raiding Serb positions in Bosnia and expresses regret for the civilian casualties. The GSS warns the Serb side in Bosnia-Herzegovina that there is no more time for recklessness" and that "just as all previous ones, the U.S. plan contains provisions that envisage consequences for the side that fails to accept the agreement. Serb insistence on 70 percent of the territory could lead to catastrophe. The 51-49 percent division is completely fair."

In a 500-word report by J.S. on a news conference by Vojislav Kostunica, leader of the Democratic Party of Serbia, the author says that "comparing the latest NATO raids with the Nazi practice in World War II of executing 100 Serbs for killing one of their soldiers, Kostunica concluded the news conference with the words that he hoped that 'the leadership of the

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Serb Republic will manage to save the people, military potentials, and the peace process.'"

NASA BORBA also caries the following report on the announcement made by the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO):

"The anti-Serbian and anticivilizational policy of the Pale extremists caused cruel and unprecedented air raids of the international military force," it is said in the announcement the SPO issued yesterday.

"The pain after the innocent victims and grave devastation that we all feel must not be expressed by agitating for a new shelling of Sarajevo or for calls to stop peace negotiations and accept war with the entire world, as one thereby only causes an even greater suffering of our people.

"We beseech reasonable and responsible people in the Serb Republic (RS) not to yield to extremist policy and to set the protection of the RS and the lives of its citizens above their own emotions. In that respect, the SPO is of the opinion that the most urgent task is to comply with the resolutions of the UN Security Council and accept the peace agreement."

A 200-word BETA report says that "the New Democracy Party (ND) points out that the 'criminal' bombing of Sarajevo and 'NATO forces' unmeasured and excessive retaliation' on Serb positions 'does not lead to peace but to increasing war conflicts.'" The report cites the ND announcement as saying that "it is wrong to reply to crime with crime."

A 200-word BETA report cites Stanka Vucinic, secretary general of the Montenegrin Liberal Party, as saying that "the party has many times already condemned the Serb aggression on Sarajevo," and expressed the hope that the latest action by NATO forces will "have a sobering effect on the behavior of the Bosnian Serb leadership." She is further cited as saying that "the Belgrade regime also has a special responsibility for the killing of Sarajevo as 'with its benign stand,' it only occasionally and 'verbally' condemned the Bosnian Serbs' 'vandalistic behavior.'"

In a 200-word report by S.N.A., in his comment on NATO air raids of Serb positions throughout Bosnia, Democratic Party spokesman Slobodan Vuksanovic is cited as saying that "the NATO aviation attack obviously represents an attempt to dissuade the Serb side from negotiations" and that "this act represents a favor to the Muslim side and a bias at the moment when the talks have taken a more favorable direction."

Milosevic's Right To Represent Serbs Disputed

AU0109205095 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 95 p 5

[Article by "D.P.": "Crowning of Milosevic and His Ascendance to the Throne of All Serbs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The news that the leadership from Pale has accepted the so-called peace policy of Belgrade means that the fate of the people in the Serb Republic will be decided by only one man, since, according to the agreement that has been signed, the Serbian president in the negotiating delegation has more than one vote. This was stated by Nikola Milosevic, president of the Serbian Liberal Party, at a news conference yesterday. The leader of the Liberal Party said that the decisions made by Slobodan Milosevic have thus far been detrimental to the interests of the Serbian people, and asked whether the "man who sold western Slavonia and Krajina will defend the Serb interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

The unofficial crowning of Milosevic and his ascendance to the throne of all Serbs was done with the approval of Patriarch Pavle and without any reaction from the other side of the Drina River. We wonder whether the SPC [Serbian Orthodox Church] knows that putting the fate of Serbs in Milosevic's hands can have far reaching and tragic consequences, the leader of the Serbian Liberal Party said.

Zoran Cvijic, president of the Executive Council of the Serbian Liberal Party, stressed that the statements by Radovan Karadzic in Zvornik the day before yesterday ("we are ready to go into negotiations on our own or with the Yugoslav delegation"), and by General Mladic on Pale television, in which he did not mention the agreement, are very indicative. "If the agreement was signed on the evening on 29 August, then Mladic and Karadzic must have known what the agreement states. Did these two know at all what they had signed, or is all this a big manipulation?" Cvijic asked himself at the end.

DSS Questions Mandate

AU0209144795 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 95 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Milosevic Does Not Have the Mandate To Negotiate on Behalf of the People"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The signing of an agreement on a joint delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic [RS], which has been allowed to take part in peace negotiations, represents the implementation of a decision adopted by

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the Assembly of the Serb Republic. The Pale assembly has concluded that the RS cannot be excluded from the peace process and that only its legitimate representatives can speak on its behalf. The international community, Izetbegovic, and the regime in Belgrade had been opposing this for more than a year. This was stated by Vojislav Kostunica, president of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS], at a news conference yesterday.

Kostunica also said that in the six-member delegation, the RS representatives have the mandate to speak on behalf of the people because that mandate had been entrusted to them after numerous assembly discussions, while Slobodan Milosevic and the representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, whom he is going to appoint, do not have that mandate. In the assemblies of Serbia, Montengro, and the federal state, there have been no discussions about the old or new peace initiatives, especially not about the foreign and national policy. Therefore, the members of the RS delegation are legitimate, while Slobodan Milosevic and his delegation are not.

The DSS leader said that the fate of this delegation and the course of negotiations remain yet to be seen. There are no reasons for excessive optimism considering the violence of the international community and Milosevic's readiness to condescendingly accept all their dictates, whether this is necessary or not. The Serbian people in Serbia do not expect anything better while Slobodan Milosevic and his party remain in power.

U.S. Seen Behind Market Bombing, Frasure Death

AU0109201895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 95 p 4

[Article by J. Spasic: "Americans and Germans Do Not Want Peace in the Former Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The criminal attack by NATO aircraft on the Serb military positions and civilian targets in the RS [Serb Republic] is the best proof that Western powers, above all the Americans and Germans, do not want peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina at all. Their goal is to annihilate the Serbian people and reduce the Serb territory as much as possible, to the territory of the Belgrade pashadom, if possible. This was stated by Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party, at a regular news conference yesterday.

Seselj takes the view that the U.S. peace initiative was "devised in the way that would be unacceptable for the Serbs," and that the U.S. Government, together with the Muslim government, had "organized the murder of civilians in Sarajevo streets and wrongly accused Serbs of doing it."

"The murder of the U.S. diplomat Frasure on Mt. Igman is also part of that conspiracy. Frasure was killed because he tried to approach the analysis of the Bosnia-Herzegovina problem relatively objectively," Seselj said, concluding that "it is obvious that every time the Serbs accepted a diplomatic initiative this was followed by punishment in terms of sanctions, bombing, and so forth."

Commenting on the agreement between the RS and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] leaderships, Seselj stressed that the Serbian Radical Party would have welcomed this agreement if it had been made two years ago. At that time, Slobodan Milosevic wanted to negotiate himself and did not need anybody.

This time, Milosevic has realized that he was not able to topple the RS leadership even with the help of communist generals, and has therefore sought a compromise solution and sent Radmilo Bogdanovic, the second man in the Serbian neocommunist regime, to the RS to find ways for joint political activities, Seselj claims.

The leader of the Serbian Radical Party stressed that the agreement between the RS and the FRY was reached through the certain "blackmail" of the Pale leadership. As one the arguments to support this claim, Seselj mentioned part of the agreement that envisages that, in the event of a divided vote in the RS-FRY negotiating team, Milosevic's vote would be decisive. "We in Serbia have not had for more than 100 years such legal provisions that give the right to the president, the first among equals, to represent two persons," Seselj said, adding that "he has probably envisaged this additional vote for Mira Markovic [Milosevic's wife]," who holds actual power in Serbia.

Karadzic-Milosevic So Far in Tie

Asked by journalists "whether, in his view, Milosevic has defeated Karadzic" Vojislav Seselj said:

"The result of this battle is a tie, so far. Slobodan Milosevic has lost an awful lot of support among the people. Radovan Karadzic has not even tried to topple Milosevic. There is no doubt, however, that the fact that Milosevic did not manage to topple Radovan Karadzic and Momcilo Krajisnik is his defeat."

Montenegro

U.S. Role in New World Order Appreciated

LD0309110695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1055 GMT 3 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Milocer, Sept 3 (TANJUG)—Montenegrin Premier Milo Djukanovic said that that

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Yugoslav republic highly appreciated the role played by the United States in the new world order.

Djukanovic was speaking at a news conference in Milocer, a sea resort in Montenegro, on Saturday [2 September] evening after talks with U.S. Congressmen Scotty Basler (Democrat) and Mark Neumann (Republican).

Djukanovic said that the talks with the U.S. congressmen had been highly important and useful and that the support drawn by Montenegro for the peace policy in these lands was crucial.

"Our aim is to bring about, through more intensive diplomatic activities, a change in the image of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Montenegro in the United States and I believe that this visit also will produce changes in that image so as to restore peace in the former Yugoslavia as soon as possible and obtain a more favourable position for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," Djukanovic said.

Djukanovic expressed the conviction that the crisis in the former Yugoslavia would be resolved and the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia lifted in the near future.

Basler said that he had been particularly impressed by the accommodation provided by Montenegro to such a large number of refugees.

Neumann said that an evident attachment of people to joint life was prevailing in Montenegro regardless of ethnic differences.

Neumann said that Montenegro should be praised for providing refugees with such conditions and that it was of crucial importance to reestablish peace in this region. The Montenegrin Government should be highly praised for such efforts, Neumann said.

Vojvodina

Hungarian Employees Replaced by Krajina Refugees

LD0209105295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the embargo, Serbian company directors in Vajdasag [Vojvodina] are making ethnic Hungarians take leave and employing Serbian refugees in their place. Since the recapture of the Serbian Krajina in Croatia, 100,000 refugees have arrived in the Vajdasag area, which is mainly populated by Hungarians. If, in line with its promise, Zagreb is going to retake Vukovar, then a further 50,000 refugees are expected to arrive. Vajdasag Hungarian leaders are afraid that the Hungarian minority's rights will be curtailed as a result of a shift in ethnic proportions.

Mayor Receives 'Reassuring' Response From Goncz

AU0409172595 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by "A.I.": "Vojvodina Hungarian Politicians Receive Threats"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Subotica Mayor Jozsef Kasza finds the reply received from Hungarian President Arpad Goncz reassuring. Kasza, leader of the local government which has the biggest Hungarian majority, earlier asked the Hungarian president's help in finding a positive solution for the Vojvodina Hungarians in the situation caused by the new wave of refugees. In his reply, Goncz stated that Hungary is calling for the security of the Vojvodina Hungarians in all international forums and is doing all it can to prevent the tragic refugee situation, which has emerged in Vojvodina, from endangering the existence of the Hungarians. The president also emphasized that he considers it desirable to sign a Hungarian-Yugoslav minority protection agreement.

In recent days, several Vojvodina Hungarian politicians (for example, Kasza, and Ferenc Csubela, chairman of the Vojvodina Hungarian Federation) have received threatening telephone calls and letters referring to the Serbian victims of 1941 to 1945, for which the Hungarians "have not yet answered."

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